Since the war, the old narrow one lane roads have been broadened, 363
permitting heavier auto traffic. Land ownership has been undisturbed, 423
for it is not in an area in which the military has required land.
Since the war, the villagers have tried to return to their former way 511
of life, but this has been done with poorer houses and fewer possessions.

3

Minatogawa

Minatogawa, the second village studied, formerly was a shoe 361
string type of settlement. Houses, shops, drinking places were along [275]
the seawall road. This pattern is now altered as a result of the war.
Scattered areas have been relocated and houses built on lands formerly [311]
used for sweet potatoes. It is now an indeterminate type of village,
retaining some indications of its old settlement pattern along the main [244]
road, with additions of clusters of houses in the newly settled areas.

Like Hanashiro, this village is in Gushichan township, and located 361
on Highway 64. It is directly on the main historical road, previously 133
mentioned, which led from Naha to the Chinen peninsula. The road, along [491]
which its houses are built, parallels for a distance the estuary of the
small Minatogawa river. This narrow estuary, called Usaregawa, which
connects the river mouth with the Pacific Ocean, and the small river
itself (Yuhigawa) is a boundary between Gushichan and Tamagusuku town-
ships. On either side there are steep cliffs, the sites of the best [316]
known stone quarries of Okinawa.

The settlement and the adjoining lands have an area of about 256 621 ●
acres. It is a mixed economy village with three distinct occupational 463
groups: fishermen, stonecutters, and farmers. There is a second village whose borders blend with those of Minatogawa. These two villages are now known officially as Minatogawa-ikku and Minatogawa-niku. The two terms can be awkwardly translated as Minatogawa first ward, and Minatogawa second ward. But popularly they retain their older names: Minatogawa for the fishing village, and Nagamo for the agricultural second ward. These two separate but adjoining villages were until 1925 a single village.

The division was the result of distinct differences in outlook and [226]
occupation between the two sections. Minatogawa is a fishing village
and has strong ties with Itoman, a town on the East China Sea shore
about 4 1/2 miles away. Nagamo is an agricultural community originally [241]
settled from Naha and Shuri. Stone-cutting operations spread over both [324]
areas. While the fishing village of Minatogawa was given the emphasis
in this study, it will be necessary occasionally to include Nagamo in [128]
the discussion.[8]

[8] The writer did not realize until he lived here that two villages 114
were involved, thinking that the two wards referred to a single administrative unit. By this time the work on Hanashiro had been well started, and time did not permit the intensive study of Nagamo.

602 of contemporary relationships. The family system does not mean only family life, or a set of obligations, or a family. It is all of these, and, in addition, a historical continuity. It is an institution in which the past is constantly intruding on the present and in which the present is a combination of acts to secure one's own livelihood and well-being as well as to perpetuate the family in the future. A simple illustration will make this clear. One of the obligations of living [769] members of a family is to observe the death anniversaries of close relatives. The last, the most important, and the most sumptuous of these observances occurs on the 33d year after the death of the relative who is mourned. Thus a grandson, most likely the first son of a first son, may end this period of memorial observances for a grandfather whom he m never have seen. There is a constant intrusion of obligations coming fr the past. These, often onerous and expensive, are honored in a positiv manner.

In the present, conscious plans are made for the continuance of th family. These are achieved through three closely inter-related devices: [591] the succession of the first son to his father's house and, on his marria taking up residence at the father's home, the system of inheritance which [428] favors the first son, and the establishment of branch households for othe sons, awarding them, if the family's wealth permits, a house site and fi for cultivation.

In this way, the continuance of the main line and collateral branch of the family is provided for. If we pursue the illustration of inheritance a little further, we can think of the division of the land as an [428] expression of the family system applied to the use and to the sharing of the available natural resources. The system of agriculture, the scat- [311] tered ownership of small holdings, the attempts at land conservation and reclamation are best understood as reflections of duties and obligations to the present and future generations in the family system. If they are not seen in this way, they may appear to be isolated practices best discussed as techniques or as aspects of law and custom.

Not only in family observances but in public holidays as well, the [527] subtle influences of the family system can be observed. Public holidays and festivals are centered on two main themes, sometimes both together: [769] thanksgiving for good crops and reverence for those who have passed away. The holiday of O-Bon in the seventh lunar month, in which the departed dead are invited to return for a visit to the homes of their living descendants and the celebrations at lunar New Year are good examples of this.

[582] In village life, the family system is strengthened by the high incidence of intermarriage among local kinship groups. A general lack 621 of mobility in the villages studied has also led to the increase of immediate relatives living in the same village. This lends to community, and even to local government some of the characteristics of a wider famil life. The establishment of branch families in the village of their pare

by sons other than the first reinforces this, although there are examples of branch families being established in villages away from the parental home. This intermarriage among kinship groups and the settlement of first sons and other children in the same village brings about a situation in which blood relatives or relatives by marriage are exceedingly numerous. It gives to village life cohesion and solidarity. This was very noticeable in the villages studied. Specific illustrations later will show the influences of these situations on many phases of village life. 621

It is no wonder then that the family system has a strong influence on community organization and on formal government. The semi-official organizations such as the neighborhood groups (*han* in Japanese), the young men's association (*seinendan* in Japanese), and the women's association (*fujinkai* in Japanese) are made up of blocs of relatives, friends, and neighbors. These circumstances blur the distinctions between the private and the public life of the family. The same is true of village government and probably accounts in large measure for democratic village government. At a wedding, at a funeral, at a birthday celebration for a child, the head of the village (kuchō in Japanese), and often the mayor of the township (sonchō in Japanese) will be present, not for political or vote catching reasons, but because he is a relative, by blood or marriage, or a personal friend of his hosts. This theme will be developed later, but it should be pointed out here that the family system, in its contemporary operations, is not only the mould for shaping the outlines of obligations and responsibilities for individuals, but that it is an important guiding principle in the conduct of community life and of formal government. 602 621 [595] [622]

2

Kinship Terminology and the Kinship System

We can now explore in more detail the mechanisms by which the family system operates. To do this, it will be well first to list the common kinship and related terms. These are the terms most often met with in conversation and which appear in the family registers (*kosoki* in Japanese). Kinship terminology follows the Japanese practice. Like Western usage, many terms such as grandfather, grandmother, uncle, aunt, nephew or niece refer to relatives both on the paternal and the maternal side. The chief differences lie in the rank order in which sons or daughters of a family are designated. A child ordinarily is not referred to as a son or as a daughter but as a first or second son, or a third daughter, or whatever the case may be. The most common terms, with their Japanese equivalents are listed below. The first word is the honorific term and the word in parentheses is the equivalent but less polite form. In general, the honorific is used in speaking of another's relatives, or in speaking to one older than oneself. The less polite term refers to one's own family or is used in speaking to persons younger than one's self. 601 [217]

614 Each contemporary extended family has two main divisions: the main family (*honke* in Japanese) represented by the families in the direct line of descent, and the branch families (*bunke* in Japanese) which represent families not in the direct line. The terms, *main family* and *branch family*, are also used in a narrower sense to 592 distinguish, within an individual family, between the family of the first son who will succeed to his father's house, and other sons who will establish branch houses.

614 The extended family has a main house whose head is the living representative in direct succession of the original founder. The ● 621 seat of each extended family is a definite site in a village or town. The degree of scattering of the collateral families is dependent on the mobility of people throughout time and the manner in which the original villages were settled. Hanashiro, for example, is considered to be about 400 years old. Sixteen of the main houses are in the village. In Minatogawa, founded as a secondary port for the fishermen of Itoman town, perhaps 250 years ago, the main houses are predominantly in Itoman. In the neighboring village of Nagamo (*Minatogawa-niku*), an area of recent settlement, the main house of the village families is generally in Naha or in Shuri. Matsuda in the north has family seats not only in the village but some of its collateral families are from adjoining areas, the Motobu peninsula, and also from the south. The location of the main family seats of any village is an indication of the areas from which the place was originally peopled. Considering the [131] smallness of the island and the even more restricted inhabited area--settlement in the northern two-thirds of the island is along the coastal rim which borders the forest--and the general lack of mobility until recent times, it is apparent that each village is composed in varying proportions of kinship groups whose original ancestral house is either in that village or from other villages or towns, most likely from adjoining areas, or from such larger centers of dispersion as Naha, Shuri, Nago, or Itoman.

It is difficult to say how important the extended family is in the culture. It may be spread over many villages in the island. Distance and lack of contact does not create the strong ties that exist within the village among relatives, friends, and neighbors. The following illustrations, drawn from each village, may however furnish some clues regarding the nature and importance of the extended family.

614 In Hanashiro, there are sixteen head houses. These with their collateral branches total 75 families; in other words, of the 121 families in the village, the head house of 75 is located in the village itself. The head houses of the remaining 46 are in other villages or towns.[3] This situation makes for closer ties of the individual families

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[3] Parallel information was not available for the other two villages; it was apparent through discussion that the same situation existed, although the proportion of main and branch families might be different.

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to the extended family, even if in some cases relationships are very distant. This point may be illustrated by discussing the relationships among six families named Shiroma in Hanashiro. The first family is the contemporary representative of the main family line. It is a main family. Its present head is an adopted child, but that does not change the situation. The second family head is a descendant of the younger brother of the grandfather of the head of the family; he is the grandson of the main head's great uncle, and therefore a second cousin of the head of the main family. The third and fourth families are branch families established by his father's younger brothers and are his first cousins. The fifth family is a very old branch family, going farther back than the grandfather. The sixth, in turn, is a branch family of the fifth. The present head of the main family does not know the relationship of the present heads of these two households to himself.

The fact that there are 16 main families with their 75 branches in the village of Hanashiro does not mean that there are not other branches of these main families. There are more than 75 families in the extended family. These are merely the branches of these 16 main families which reside in the village.

[764] [527] [769]

The head of a main house has responsibilities which are not shared by the heads of the branch families. He is the custodian of the tomb of the extended family. The head house is the meeting place of the extended family reunions. These normally take place on the 15th day of the 7th lunar month, the festival of *O-Bon*, and on lunar New Year. The extended families, or representatives that may reside in a village which is also the seat of the extended family decide questions of concern to the extended family as a whole. Such a question might be the case of a widow with minor children. For economic reasons, she seeks to sell her property. Since the disposal of property in land is intimately connected with the present and future fortunes of a family, the members of the extended family, especially if many reside in the same place, discuss this matter and give advice which the young widow in practice follows.

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Hanashiro is a good example of an old agricultural community in which descendant families have tended to remain in the same place as the original founder of the family. Those collateral families with main houses elsewhere are, in the main, from adjacent or nearby areas.

[628] [551]

When this situation is compared with Minatogawa, certain differences are at once apparent. The fishermen of present day Minatogawa are descendants of settlers originally from the large fishing town of Itoman. Many of these fishing families are related by blood and intermarriage. Not only this, but there is a web of interrelationship which includes Itoman and its daughter village of Minatogawa. Of the 213 households in Minatogawa, 53 had the surname of *Tamaki* (or *Tamashiro*), 47 of Uehara, 21 of Oshiro, and 20 of Kanashiro, the four surnames accounting for 141 of the total households. People with the same surname who live in the same village are almost invariably related.[4] Compared with other

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[4] In sample checks made personally this turned out to be true, but the relationship was often so distant as to be unknown. All informants stated that people living in the same village who had the same surname were relatives.

621 614 [764] villages studied, these frequencies of families with the same surname are very high. The seat of these extended families of the Minatogawa fishermen is in almost every instance the town of Itoman. The tombs of Minatogawa are entirely different from those of the neighboring agricultural communities. They are small and temporary tombs for keeping remains that will later be removed to the large, often dramatically situated extended family tombs of Itoman. One resident of Minatogawa aptly described his village as a "bunke (branch family) of Itoman."

463 621 614 This is an unusual situation and can not be fully explained except by a study of Itoman and the smaller fishing villages scattered throughout Okinawa Island, One explanation might be that historically Okinawans have been farmers, and that, while they are excellent fishermen, they have not as a people participated in large numbers in fishing, leaving this activity to definite groups, such as the people of Itoman town. The passing down of occupations of the father to the son, the infrequency of change in occupation, especially from agriculture to fishing, the establishment of daughter villages, such as Minatogawa, might account for the fact that fishing is the occupation of a compact group of families who have intermarried and continued in their traditional occupations. Even in Matsuda, to the north, the temporary colonies of fishermen are either Itoman people or are their descendants. (There are of course a few local farmers who do some fishing). The close ties between Minatogawa and its parent town of Itoman illustrate the persistence of occupational and soc relationships over a period of two and a half centuries.

614 Certain exceptions to the usual practice in Minatogawa accentuate the closeness of extended family relationships between Itoman and Minatogawa. As an illustration, we may take the case of three related families in Minatogawa who are not fishermen. The head of one family is a retired farmer, his son is a school teacher, and a third is a distant relative is a stone cutter. These people, formerly members or descendants of members of the nobility, came from Shuri. The main house of their extended fa is in Shuri. This contemporary extended family now has so many members that the places for reunions and meetings have been increased, since the site of the main house in Shuri, founded by the original ancestor, can no longer accommodate all the members. The places of worship are divid into the main place, (umuta in Okinawan) and intermediate places [778] (nakamutu in Okinawan). Some of these secondary places of worship are in nearby Naha. The number of these cases is small compared with the closely knit ties of the fishermen's families with Itoman town.

In Matsuda, the extended family operates as it does in Hanashiro; the former town, there is an illustration of another point regarding the extended family system: the identity of a family name with a village na Historically, the family took the name of the place; the place did not receive the name of the family. Though the situation is not clear, it [565] would seem that when the king made grants of land to nobles that they adopted the name given by the king to the place, while commoners did not receive surnames, but were known by their household rank order — to be explained in Section 8. The village of Matsuda, for example, is the se

FAMILY COMPOSITION OF THE VILLAGES

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FAMILY HEAD	NUMBER IN THE FAMILY 1 Hana	1 Mina	1 Matsu	2 Hana	2 Mina	2 Matsu	3 Hana	3 Mina	3 Matsu
Single Heads:									
Male	4	10	11						
Female	4	12	12						
Male Heads with:									
Wife only				2	23	19			
Wife and Children Only							8	19	20
Wife, Childr, Other Rels									
Wife and Other Rels								3	1
Child or Children Only				1	1	2			1
Children and Other Rels						2		3	
Other Relatives Only				2	2		9	3	
Female Heads with:									
Child or Children Only				1	8	8		9	13
Children and Other Rels					1	1	2	4	
Other Relatives Only				4	1	1	1		1

	4 Hana	4 Mina	4 Matsu	5 Hana	5 Mina	5 Matsu	6 Hana	6 Mina	6 Matsu
Male Heads with:									
Wife only									
Wife and Children only	13	20	10	7	13	16	3	10	11
Wife, Childr, Other Rels		1	4	2	8	6	1	9	4
Wife and Other Rels	1	1		1			1		1
Child or Children Only	1			1					
Children and Other Rels	1	1		1	2				
Other Relatives Only	6	3	2	6			1	2	1
Female Heads with:									
Child or Children Only		9	5		7	8		2	1
Children and Other Rels		3	2		4	1	1	5	
Other Relatives Only	1		1						

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

FAMILY COMPOSITION OF THE VILLAGES, con'td.

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FAMILY HEAD	NUMBER IN THE FAMILY 7 Hana	Mina	Matsu	8 Hana	Mina	Matsu	9 Hana	Mina	Matsu
Male Heads with:									
Wife only									
Wife and Children only	3	7	8	4	3	4	1	1	2
Wife, Childr, Other Rels	5	7	4	1	5	3	4	3	6
Wife and Other Rels									
Child or Children Only	1								
Children and Other Rels	2	1		2		1			
Other Relatives Only	1				1				
Female Heads with:									
Child or Children only		1	4		1			2	
Children and Other Rels									
Other Relatives only					1				

	10 Hana	Mina	Matsu	11 Hana	Mina	Matsu	12 Hana	Mina	Matsu
Male Heads with:									
Wife Only									
Wife and Children only	1								
Wife, Childr, Other Rels	3	1	2	3	3	3	1		3
Wife and other Rels									
Other Relatives Only									
Female Heads with:									
Child or Children only									
Children and Other Rels						1			
Other Relatives only									

	13 Hana	Mina	Matsu	14 Hana	Mina	Matsu
Male Heads with:						
Wife only						
Wife and Children only						
Wife, Childr, Other Rels	1	1			1	
Wife and other Rels	1					
Other Relatives only						
Children and Other Rels	1					

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SUMMARY

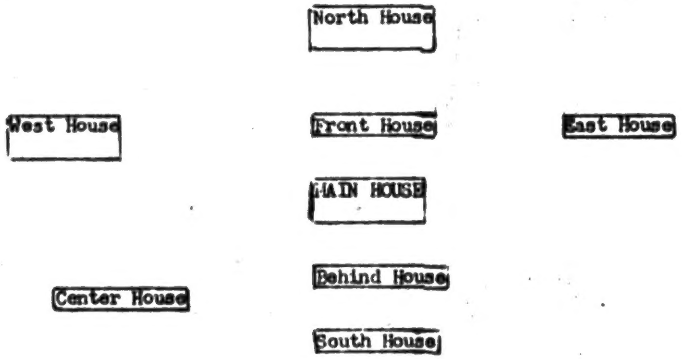
	Total	Single Heads	Male Family Heads	Female Family Heads
Hanashiro	120	8	102	10
Minatogawa	238	22	158	58
Matsuda	207	23	137	47

Note: This and the preceding tables represent: (a) 120 of the 120 households of Hanashiro as of December 31, 1951, (b) 207 of the 243 households of Matsuda, since one volume of the register was not available, and (c) 238 listings from Minatogawa, while there are only 213 households. As far as could be determined, there are 238 heads of a family (koshu) who are living in 213 households (kosu). There is thus some doubling up, probably among the female heads who are living in the houses of relatives. A house or a residence in the physical sense may thus have one or more heads of houses or families, just as two families might live in the same house anywhere. No attempt therefore has been made to reconcile the differences.

000 state the idea in rough outline first so that it can be grasped immediately. Let us suppose that in an American small town of about 1000 people, there are 200 families, 75 of which are named Smith; another 75, Jones; 25, Brown; and 25 of assorted surnames of less frequency. These people are neighbors; they are an agricultural people; they have not had much education. It is difficult to remember everyone's surname and distinguish, when talking to others, one family from the other. So the 75 Smith families are given various designations, such as "the Milwaukee Smiths," "Smith, the barber," "the second son of the Milwaukee Smiths. The same is done with the Jones, the Browns, and the other families. These families then become known by their secondary names rather than by their Christian and surnames. A child, instead of being known as Bobbie Smith, would be the child of the Milwaukee Smiths. The parallel between this situation and the household order naming system is inexact, but the example conveys the general idea.

592 614 613 [193] The household order name given to any single family shows the place of this particular family in the hierarchy of the extended family. Families belonging to the same extended family have the same surname. But each has a different household order name to distinguish one from the other. In Minatogawa, for example, there are 53 families named Tamaki but each of these families has a distinct household order name. These names are built up in an agglutinative fashion by using a root word and then by adding prefixes and occasionally a suffix to show distinctions among families.

614 613 592 621 Historically, the household order system seems to have grown up as a result of the building of houses for branch families around or near the house of the original ancestor. In the following illustration, the house of the original founder of the family is shown in the middle. Perhaps his eldest younger brother, when he established a branch house, built his home in front of his brother's home and another younger brother built his home in back of the founder's house. These two houses would then become the "front" and the "behind" houses.



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[193]

The founder's first son remains in the main house. But his other sons and their sons take up positions to the north, south, east, or west; subsequent descendants might take up other positions. It is possible to relate any family in this manner to the head family. The prefixes (and one suffix) used in making the various designations are:

Japanese	Okinawan	English
mae-	me-	before, front
ushiro-	kushi-	after, behind
ue-	ui-	top
shita-	shicha-	bottom
higashi-	agari-	east
minami-	fe-	south
nishi-	iri-	west
kita-	nishi-	north
atarashii	mi- miya-	new
naka		center
	ufa-	big, great
	-gwa	diminutive, opposite of ufa, and a suffix.

Let us assume, to use an actual illustration from Hanashiro, that the household order name of a main house is Ganiku. This word has no known meaning; it may be a place name or some local landmark near the site of the original house established perhaps centuries ago. Other families in Hanashiro which are branch families of this main extended family would have the word Ganiku in their house order name with the addition of prefixes and suffixes to show that it was a branch family. There are 14 families in which the word Ganiku appears in the household order name. These are (in Okinawan):

1	Ganiku	The Main House
2	Nakaganiku	Center-
3	Kushiganiku	Behind-
4	Ganikugwa	Little Ganiku
5	Iriganiku	West-
6	Miganiku	New-
7	Miyameganiku	New front-
8	Nishiganiku	North-
9	Nishiganikugwa	Little north-
10	Iriganikugwa	Little west-
11	Meganikugwa	Little front-
12	Meiriganikugwa	Little front west-
13	Mimeganikugwa	Little new front-
14	Meganiku	Front-

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In this Hanashiro example, a man's real name might be Shoichi Shiroma, but he is known also as Iriganikugwa, the Little Western Ganiku family. All of his children, while in his family, have the same secondary name.

582 621 Husband and wife usually are from the same village, but there are many exceptions. Marriages of persons from different villages have increased in the past decade. This probably should be ascribed to the greater mobility of the people and to the acceptance of free choice in marriage. It is common, for example, for a Matsuda boy to marry a Ginoza village girl. It is also common for a boy in Minatogawa to marry a girl from the nearby agricultural villages of Hanashiro, Asato, or Oushichan. This apparently is a distinct change from earlier practices.

591 If the family registers are accurate, the great majority of the men living in a village were born there; it is the wives who are more likely to be the newcomers. In the social structure of village life, it is the men who provide the continuity; the women are more likely to be strangers. The husband may point to his father and grandfather who live or have lived in the village; fewer wives can do the same.

2

The Marriage Ceremony

585 In my experience, no two marriage ceremonies in Okinawa are alike. Marriages take place at any time of the year, but in all three villages, they were more commonly held in the late fall or in winter. The reasons given are that the heavy clothing and elaborate headdress of the bride are not suited to the hot and humid summer and that these can be more comfortably worn in the cool winter months. The marriage feast with its fish cakes, meats, vegetables, and a variety of other perishable foods can be more easily prepared and kept in winter. [262] In the agricultural villages, the ceremony usually takes place after the day's work; in the winter the reception may start by 5 and the main ceremonies are over by 8 in the evening.

585 576 Description of a ceremony at Matsuda. The party began about 5 in the afternoon. Because of the large number of guests, the primary school was used for the ceremony. At the head of the first room, the grandfather and grandmother of the groom, the groom, his father, and the go-between were seated. Other relatives of the groom found places around the sides. Later the father of the bride, who arrived shortly before his daughter, joined this group. The go-between, a young man of 24, was a friend of the couple, and his wife was a member of the groom's family.

In the other rooms, opening into one another, about 300 guests, mostly men, were assembled. During the reception and before the beginning of the ceremony, guests representing their families entered the first room to congratulate the father, the groom, and the grandparents. In this period of congratulation involving the father, the groom, and the guest, there was an exchange of sips of sake from a common cup. As in other instances of congratulation, some speeches were long, some short, some well prepared, others extemporaneous. [537]

484 studied remarked on the discomfort of the rustic north. Many
people in Matsuda thought the people of the northern district more
[829] honest than those of the south. This attitude is partly due to
knowledge of crime in Naha. Direct or personal knowledge of other
islands of the Ryukyus is exceptional. Few people know more than
travelers' tales about Yaeyama, Miyako, or Amami.

562 Men are better informed about current events than the women.
Women do not participate so much in social life, nor do they read
521 so much. Conversations at small gatherings are often on a very
serious level. A local antiquarian telling of vanished customs and
conditions has a very attentive audience. So has a returned traveler
814 from Japan. These people have a sense of history, curiosity, and
respect for knowledge and education.

3

Village Co-operation

621 One of the most important things to learn about a culture is
the nature of its co-operative endeavor. It is useful knowledge in
476 understanding the transition zone between individual and family living
and participation in community activities. In these communities,
co-operation involves considering the relation of families resident
in the village to one another, to their community organizations, and
to local government. These relations are stronger than the tie of an
individual to an extended family. The nature and the limitations of
co-operation can best be described by pointing to examples from each
of the villages.

In Hanashiro, mutual help is mainly found, as one might expect,
among close and distant relatives of the same family of families related by marriage, who are living in the village. There are extended
family ties, which may involve several villages, but this does not
[C19] mean that tasks are done co-operatively within the extended family.
It is uncommon to go to another village to help a relative with his
harvest or his housebuilding--and the distance would increase the
unlikelihood. Immediate ties to friends, relatives, and neighbors
are stronger than those to the more distant members of the extended
family.

Within the village, organized co-operation is not conspicuous.
Help is given in the form of labor not in money. There is no accounting
on a reciprocity basis. At any harvest time--the rice harvest is
usually the most urgent--a relative, neighbor or friend may help one
day and receive the same aid on the following day. The whole village
does not turn out to help each farmer in turn until the crops are in.
This work is done by individuals or by very small groups. Since the
nature and the amount of help is known and acknowledged, no bookkeeping
is needed or desired. The closest approach to villagewide help to
[342] an individual family occurs in housebuilding. All residents of the

village volunteer to help if they have the time; each day a group of 5 or more appear, to be replaced the following day by another group until the house is finished. This type of help is more characteristic of the construction or repair of a simple house with a thatched roof than it is with a more expensive and elaborate house which requires specialists. 621 476 342

No days are specifically set aside for community projects, but these are done through co-operative effort. The amount of time given depends on needs as they arise. The care and maintenance of roads and lanes are the most frequent projects. If a road or lane is needed, the village headman and the council discuss the matter, consult the villagers, and the task is then undertaken. Road and lane maintenance includes cutting weeds and clearing away brush to cut down the danger from snakes. These procedures apply also to the construction and care of community owned buildings, such as the village office and the sugar mill. Hanashiro is small enough so that elaborate plans are not required and the desired ends can be accomplished by casual forms of mutual help. 621 476 [491]

The problems of Minatogawa are different, but the type of co-operation is essentially the same. Because of its situation, typhoon damage is often severe. Cleaning up and repairing after a typhoon is a co-operative enterprise, since there is so much damage to community property such as roads and breakwaters. In the typhoon "Ruth" in 1951, the wind driven waves lashed the breakwater with such violence that the stones were dislodged and scattered over the main road. Repairing typhoon damage is partly a community, partly a family affair. Many of the frailer houses are blown down and must be reconstructed from their foundations. Help in beaching and lashing down boats in anticipation of a typhoon is given by relatives and friends. Road maintenance and construction, village building, the laying of stones around a community water tank or faucet are tasks accomplished by community effort. House-building is done mostly through the co-operation of friends and relatives. There may be visits to Itoman to help members of the extended family there. The ties with Itoman are close. [731] [614]

Matsuda is a larger village whose scattered settlements and community forests have resulted in a more planned community co-operation than exists in the southern villages. Three general forms can be distinguished: (1) officially supervised co-operative work on the roads and in the forests in which every male over school age and the unmarried girls are expected to work a stated number of days in a year. Records are kept of this work. One might regard this as obligatory, but it is more correct to say that it is a universally acknowledged duty requiring no enforcement procedure. (2) Voluntary co-operation in the building of a house, and (3) less formal and more casual help, among relatives and friends in a wide variety of daily tasks, including harvesting, carrying wood, threshing rice, and the like.

In the officially supervised co-operative work, the participating

621 476 individuals give one day each year to forest maintenance and planting. Twice during the year one day is given to cleaning up and repairing village roads and paths, to improve village cleanliness, and to reduce the danger from snakes. These clean-up activities, which take place in March, April and November, include cutting the grass and weeds along the roadside, cleaning off accumulated debris, and filling in ruts, holes, and rough spots.

621 476 342 [463] [519] The closest approach to village-wide co-operation in private undertakings is in housebuilding. Regardless of the financial standing of the owner, whenever a new house is being built, there are volunteer helpers from the whole village. This is the only area in which this co-operation exists. It does not occur in agriculture or at harvest times. Each day a different crew helps, but this assistance does not apply to the more specialized tasks. The skilled work on the larger new houses requires carpenters, masons, and tile setters. There is no rigid system of reciprocity nor does a villager keep a record of the days he has worked for the others and the days due him. Many who help already have substantial houses themselves and have no need of reciprocal aid. Following a custom in all the villages, when the building is finished, the owner gives a housewarming party, with plenty of sake and food. Both hired and volunteer workers are invited.

476 If we may judge by these villages, the Okinawan is individualistic in his approach to his work. Aside from the work on the roads and in the forests, help in emergencies, and the special case of housebuilding, the circle of mutual help is confined within the family or close associates. In no case, did the co-operation of a whole or a substantial part of the village extend to agriculture.

This preceding discussion does not exhaust the field of cooperative endeavor. The co-operative associations and mutual loan groups have already been discussed. Community organizations and neighborhood associations will be considered in Section 5. But these are either more restricted in membership or have a more planned organisational character.

571 In closing this discussion, a further point should be made to avoid misunderstanding. The farmer, fisherman, or stonecutter, the worker in the forest approaches his task as an individual. But group consultation and the sharing of responsibility in other activities is a positive characteristic of the culture. The principle of prior discussion, arriving at a decision acceptable to the group, is a conspicuous part of family life and is implicit in the family system. The same attitude appears in group and community organizations, and in the conduct, as we shall see, of village government.

4

Village Leadership

565 [727] The recent war brought about a levelling in village life. Before

565 A common device among noble families was to vary the second
553 character of the Chinese compound which made up the given name. This custom still remains, but has no significance beyond individual family pride. The following case illustrates this naming device:

Relation to Present Head of House	Given Name
Grandfather	Chohyo
Father	Chokan
Present Head	Choyo
First Son	Choko
Second Son	Choshin
Third Son	Chokeii
Fourth Son	Chosei

554 Before the war, the village hierarchy consisted of the headman and
retired elders and officials, the school principal and teachers if resi-
dent there, the well-to-do farmer, followed by the ordinary farmers or
fishermen.[3] These distinctions are now blurred and have been affected
by other changes. The school principal and the school teacher retain
their prestige, but they have lost their relatively high economic status.
Their clothing and the appearance of their homes are indistinguishable
from those of a farmer. The ordinary farmer who works his field during
the day and whose wife raises the pigs is in a better economic position.
The same applies to village and township officials. Many distinctions
based on wealth have disappeared because of the destruction and general
[556] impoverishment of the war. Neither are distinctions possible in dress,
for everyone wears makeshift clothing. Post-war circumstances have put
the old at a disadvantage in dealing with new situations. Present day
village life is fluid. The war and its aftermath have blurred many of
the former distinctions based on age, occupation, or wealth.

621 Village leadership is based on individual qualities, but is limited
208 by group opinion which all individuals respect. Decisions of any character, personal, familial, or political, emerge from consultation and discussion. One constantly hears the word sōdan, meaning a discussion or a consultation, with reference to decision making.

555 What types of individuals assume leadership in village affairs?
212 First, leadership comes from a group that is literate. This limits the people available for responsible positions. Occupations such as the

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[3] According to old residents in Matsuda, there were in their youth,
classes whose occupation made them inferior. Examples were bell ringer
[461] ringers at funerals and pig killers. Pig killing is still considered
[565] a low occupation, but this has no relevance to village life, for no
commercial slaughtering is done in the villages. In the villages,
[963] there is no suggestion of the existence of groups looked down upon
because of their occupation, with the possible exception of a collector of night soil—and this occupation is infrequent.

575 572] Friendships formed here and in school are the basis of later lifelong associations.

Young Women's Associations (joshiseinen) are not so well developed. Hanashiro has none. In Minatogawa the young men's and the young women's groups are combined. Matsuda has a separate organization of girls from 17 to 23. The latter age is considered the probable date of marriage, when the young woman will enter the Women's Association. Their duties parallel those of the young men: village maintenance, selling firewood, planting sugar cane, taking part in harvest ceremonies and participating with the young men in the New Year's party.

[368] In the villages, a volunteer organization is responsible for fire fighting. The fire brigades (sobodan) usually are under the direction of the young men's association. The village gong is sounded, the volunteers assemble, and the fire is put out by using a bucket brigade.

[177] Parent Teacher Associations, after the American model, have been formed in the rural area, but it is too early to form a judgment of their effectiveness.

575 621 There are also the neighborhood associations. A village is divided into areas or zones (han), each with its own head (hanchō). Neighborhood groups had existed before the introduction of the Japanese neighborhood association (tonari gumi) in about 1935 or 1936. These older groups (kumi) had from 30 to 70 families, each with a head (kumichō). These groups often assisted in a family crisis, with housebuilding, or furnished pallbearers for a funeral.

Before and during the war, the Japanese used the neighborhood associations in their rationing, food distribution, civil defense, and other programs.

[632] The neighborhood associations remained after the war, but they are now known as hans. The leader of each neighborhood group is a link in the chain of communication from the township office to the individual villager. The township mayor transmits a new regulation or a directive from a higher governmental authority to each village headman who informs the heads of each of the neighborhood groups, who can then tell the people living in his area. The people within a neighborhood group may also co-operate with one another in housebuilding. The young men may be pallbearers for a deceased resident of the neighborhood. The group head also informs the people of village meetings (jōkai). These heads may be elected, but usually they serve by rotation (kōtai), with a change every three months. In Matsuda, the group head is selected for one year and household heads service under him for one month in rotation to perform stand-by (tōban suru, to be on duty) duties and help the neighborhood head in his work.

HANS 575 621

Hanashiro	5
Minatogawa	9
Matsuda	16

6

The Democratic Government of the Township and Village

The description of local government has intentionally been delayed to this point because its operation and functions can be seen to greater advantage after an acquaintance with family life and the various forms of group activity. We can see it, not so much a formal structure to be described in legalistic terms, but as an expression of many of the characteristics of the culture we have already found in the family system, group activity, and individual leadership. 128

Okinawa and the various smaller islands of the Central Ryukyus (Okinawa-gunto) is one of the four main political subdivisions of the chain. The gunto is divided into townships, and within each township, there are several settlements (buraku, ku, aza) which we have consistently called villages. Township government is the channel for the enforcement of laws and regulations from higher governmental agencies and the source of local measures which govern the several villages of the township. 631

The seat of the township government is one of the villages of the township.[4] In Gushichan township, the village office (yakuba) is at Gushichan village, while in Ginoza township, the office is in Ginoza village. 632

At the head of this government is a mayor (sonchō) elected for a four year term. There is no strenuous campaigning for the office. Friends may induce a well known man to run, then visit the villages, and ask the people to vote for him. A reputation for being kind, fair, and refined (otonashii) goes far in electing a man. Once in office he is extremely busy, and like the village headman, usually looks forward to the end of his term rather than to re-election. A new mayor appoints his own or reappoints the old staff. He chooses a vice-mayor (joyaku) with the approval of the village assembly (gikai). 632 622 [666] [577]

A township office generally has the following administrative sections: (1) a treasury and disbursing office (shūnyūyaku), (2) a general affairs (shomu) sections. The head of this section is in charge of the family registers (koseki) and of the registry of seals. These two important functions require a little elaboration. 632

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[4] The government actually described here is that of Gushichan township. It did not seem worthwhile to repeat essentially the same information for Ginoza and then to make minute comparisons and contrasts between them.

623 (*hyōgiin*) is an elected body, while the other, composed of village elders and public spirited men (*yūshi*) is a more honorary group. Sometimes the council is composed of one man from each neighborhood association. The elders are an unofficial body which because of its prestige is consulted when the headman and the council have an emergency problem and wish to get the advice of the respected men of the village. [554] This group is composed of former village headmen, former members of the village council, and well-known residents, such as retired school teachers or farmers.

The village council, composed of about 10 men, is elected from the male heads of a household. Before the war, members were elder men, but they now include young men as well. The council advises the headman on matters for which he is reluctant to assume full responsibility. If the decision is important enough, the village assembly, composed of all the heads of families over 18 years of age, is consulted. A headman may use the village council to help in defending himself against unpopular decisions. The village headman and the council generally make the final decision on village matters, but any decision involving the expenditure of money is referred to the assembly of household heads.

621 623 622 Village government is democratic. The people know their elected leaders personally. The problems with which the people and their officials are concerned are concrete, and seldom matters of abstract principle. They usually are concerned with local improvements, taxation, and schooling. The people participate in local government through the village assembly, at which they elect the headman and the council members. They can criticize and question decisions and approve proposals for spending money.

A headman can conceal neither his strong points nor his faults. Village government utilizes the principle of group responsibility without sacrificing the principle of individual leadership and a strong respected headman can do much to prevent the formation of cliques within a village. This does not mean that individual antagonisms and differences of opinion do not exist, but they seem to be resolved before they reach the stage of organized opposition.

Village government is not an extension of the family system. The village headman is not the head of one large family. But there is individual leadership, consultation and discussion, and mutual agreement both in the family system and in village government. Family experience has both a private and a public character. The public influences of family life takes the form of tempering the formality and mechanics of government.

621 591 A village is composed of single families. Many have intermarried. All of these families have a certain relationship to one another. They may be friends; they may live in the same neighborhood. Their children are known to one another as classmates, later as members of youth organizations. The families may have other associations, based on a common economic interest in agriculture, fishing, or pig raising. They

have traditional, though restricted, forms of village co-operation. This meshing in of activities, either among families or groups, when combined with individual leadership brings about a situation in the village which is comparable with the experiences in the family system. 621 571

These individual and family relationships which are the real content of village administration are also felt, though in a diluted form, in the township government. The influence of inter-village marriage, of the school whose pupils come from several villages, and of the annual athletic meets make for informality and elastic government. Township officials generally are drawn from each of the villages which make up a township. These elements provide both in village and township life a feeling of participation and a sense of belonging, already so strongly developed within the family system. 632 628 571

is one of the rare, desired body attributes. It was the opinion of some 142
that the descendants of the noble families who came from Shuri, however, are taller and slender, with a prominent, curved nasal ridge.

Until they feel confident in the presence of strangers, Taira people 152
appear quiet and restrained. It is considered a virtue not to show one's 153
emotions, and Tairans consider the expressiveness of Americans child- [181]
ish. Actually they are gay, talkative, and given to laughter, especially the women. Men are quiet unless stimulated by alcohol, but both men and women may lose their composure in emergencies. A notable exception is their placid reactions to the threat of disaster from the ever recurrent violent storms.

THE COMMUNITY, ITS HISTORY AND NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

621 ●

Taira is one of the northern villages on the northeast coast of Oki- 101
nawa in Higashi township (see map 1). Today it is home to over [131]
700 people who make their living—as did their ancestors since early [162]
times—from the surrounding fields, forests, and from the sea. The Okinawan name for the village, Taira, means "sloping fields." The character used for writing the prevalent Japanese version, Taira, means "flat, plain, good."

Since the family records were lost during World War II, it is neces- 173
sary to depend on oral traditions for reconstruction of the history of 621
Taira. Unfortunately, the desire of many Okinawans to establish a [114]
relationship between their local families and the former royal courts casts some doubt on the accuracy of these traditions.

According to these traditions, the first village to be settled in the vicinity of Taira was the neighboring community Kawata. After the Hokuzan kingdom in Nakijin (on the northwestern Motobu Peninsula) was conquered by the southern Okinawan kingdom of Chuzan in the fifthteenth century (Kerr, 1958:85), the second son of the Lord of Hokuzan is said to have escaped northward into Kunigami province. Unitokogami, the fleeing nobleman, arrived near the present site of Kawata and established himself in a cave around the year 1477. He is [182]
still revered today as founder of the village in a yearly spring ceremony [169]
when prayers are said in front of the cave. The oldest Taira families trace their descent in the male line from Nizenya, the "main house," he founded. Taira was settled around 1550 by two families tracing descent from this "main house." The descendents of these settlers are

173 621 the two main "houses," or family lines in Taira, and for several centuries Taira must have been a small, closely knit community of interrelated people.

000 Between 1875 and 1895, when the court life at the old capitol of

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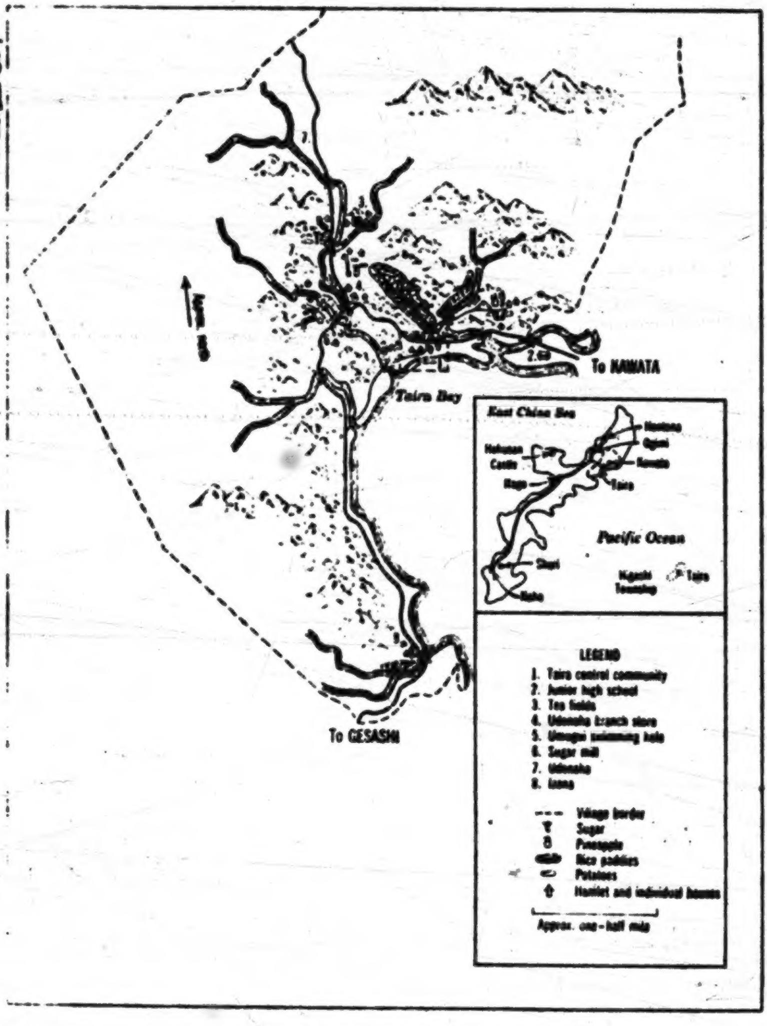
To KAWATA
Taira Bay
To GESASHI
East China Sea
Hentona
Ogimi
Kawata
Nakijin Castle
Nago
Taira
Pacific Ocean
Shuri
Naha
Higashi Township
Taira
LEGEND
1. Taira central community
2. Junior high school
3. Tea fields
4. Udonaha branch store
5. Umagai swimming hole
6. Sugar mill
7. Udonaha
8. Izena
Village border
Sugar
Pineapple
Rice paddies
Potatoes
Hamlet and individual houses
Approx. one-half mile

Map 1. Taira village (Higashi Township).

621

Between 1875 and 1895, when the court life at the old capitol of
Shuri was broken up under Japanese influence, many families of noble 173
origin moved into the country to become farmers, and the village grew 565
in size. These people settled mainly outside the central village in areas 166
where land was available. One family moved into Taira proper, forming [177]
the third "main house." Although it still maintains feeble ceremonial connections with Shuri, it gave up its noble title shortly after coming north and moved its ancestral tomb to the community. The noble families who settled in the valleys and hills preserved their distinctive traditions until the end of World War II. Their noble descent was noted in the population register, and intermarriage with
commoners was discouraged. 621

Except for these Shuri migrants, few outsiders seem to have settled 173
in Taira prior to World War II. The residents on the southern part of [186]
the island, especially the residents of Naha and Shuri, consider northerners rustics. Although this part of the island was often used as a [687]
hiding place by political and criminal refugees from the south, who [166]
are said to have founded nearby villages, none of them made their
home in Taira.

The original settlers of Taira were reluctant to accept later arrivals
in their midst. Because of the fear of spirits, foreign to the village, they [776]
prohibited the burial of the newcomer's dead near the tombs shared
by the members of the "main houses." To this day the funeral urns of [764]
a family who came to Taira about 60 years ago and later intermarried
with settled villages are kept in a cave, away from all other tombs.

Higashi township was established in 1922. The area had previously 632
belonged to Kushi township to the south, but the great distances be- 173
tween villages and the mountainous character of the country made effi- 621
cient administration very difficult. Furthermore, some Higashi in- [628]
habitants felt that because of temperamental differences and divergent
interests they should separate from the southern township. Since 1922
contacts have been predominantly with Ogimi township to the northwest and the town of Nago, 16 miles away. Once the road connecting [491]
the two coastlines was completed in 1936, Taira's isolation decreased
considerably, and it became the administrative seat of Higashi township in 1946.

Taira also became the home of the high priestess. In the period prior 173
to direct Japanese administration, her office was under the jurisdiction 793
of the Shuri court (Lebra, 1958), and her predecessors must have been 621
appointed by the Okinawan kings. Taira may have been chosen as the seat of the high priestess in lieu of Kawata because Kawata lacks the good rice land which traditionally went to the high priestess by royal decree. Some of this rice land is still in the hands of the living priestess.

621

778 Although a number of important shrines and worship places are located in the Kawata area, the main shrine is in Taira.

173 648 722 621 To this tranquil area the activities of World War II brought a great upheaval. Although the main stream of refugees from the south, following threats of United States troups' invasion, did not reach this northern area, Japanese guerilla forces settled in the hills of Higashi township. This, and the constant warnings from the Japanese of the "terrors" of American occupation, caused the population of all villages to take refuge in the mountains, carrying along what few possessions they could, including livestock. Families were separated and individuals lived in constant fear of soldiers from both sides. Nightly excursions to the fields to harvest whatever could be found helped to maintain a meager diet. It is characteristic of the stresses of this period that among the children of central Taira only one was born in 1945.

173 648 727 621 The war ended for Taira people when American troops had cleared the northern areas of Japanese troops. In this action several villages were destroyed, among them Taira. The present economic struggle of Higashi township, an area which was always handicapped by lack of farmland and poor soil, is partly due to the war. On the other hand, the demand for lumber for an island-wide reconstruction program lent a temporary boom to the economy. In the process, however, forests [185] which had been heavily cut before the war fell prey to rapid and poorly planned cutting. At present the whole township is in the throes of economic readjustment.

173 167 621 In the past 50 years, Taira, like the rest of Okinawa, has sent some of its overflow of population to various areas in the world, including Japan, and especially to the industrial areas of Kobe and Osaka, Saipan, and Brazil. At least five of the families in central Taira lived either in Japan or the Pacific Islands and returned shortly after World War II. Emigrants to Brazil have stayed with the exception of one prominent person who returned to Taira several years before the war. Some of the families lived as many as 18 or 20 years abroad, and several children in the study were born in Japan and returned to the village as infants. Among the villagers are many who have served in the Japanese Army in Asia or in the South Seas.

The repatriation of these families does not seem to have caused any serious disturbances to the village, since many people were killed during the war and several families moved to the city. An exodus to the [311] outlying areas of the village also provided room for returnees, so, although rice land is scarce, there is still some uncultivated farmland, admittedly mostly of poor quality.

080 The community is dispersed. In the outlying parts, as far as 2 miles

and look after the sick. Even if they are too old for any work, like two 887
oldsters over 80 years, they can still hold the youngest grandchild. Two 462
exceptional old men, brothers of almost the same age, pass their time 855
by making rope bags and mats from the fiber of the fan palm. Both are
active as financial experts, investing money here and there and lending 285
it for high interests in various shrewd transactions. 454

INFORMAL AND FORMAL COOPERATION

Cooperation plays a prominent part in Taira economy. Assistance 476
is always given for major tasks, such as preparing grass land for farm
use or house building, or for work which must be done quickly, such 241
as transplanting rice or harvesting and milling sugar. In fact, since wet rice cultivation depends on assistance in any culture that works its paddies by hand, it is noteworthy that the term *iimarû*, used in Taira for labor exchange in planting and harvesting, is also extended to other mutual assistance. The term, literally translated, means "gathering by rotation." A family who plans a project that needs the help of others makes an informal arrangement with relatives or neighbors to help for one or more days. This is simply done by notifying individuals that such help is needed. No one, unless he has urgent reasons, would refuse to comply with a call for assistance. If it is a small task, a few close
relatives are asked. In most larger undertakings, it is the neighborhood 621
group that lends a hand. These mutual-assistance groups usually form within the central village and within each of the geographical clusters of the outlying village, although close relatives from other parts of the community may be called. However, the most recent arrivals in Taira, all present members of one family line who have the same surname, act jointly in reclamation of neglected fields to strengthen their economic position.

Return services are expected, but nobody would admit that there is 476
any thought of equal compensation and would not even joke about the
matter. There is a strong feeling that calculated thinking is unseemly 241
not only among relatives but also among unrelated neighbors. One 577
man, when asked what would happen if a person refused to comply to a request for help, answered, "There is no such dirty person, and if there were one, he would be an outcast." During the rice planting season, persons helping in another's fields will shortly be helped themselves. In housebuilding, a long time may pass until those who aided will need aid in return.

Except for people over 56, pregnant women, and mothers of chil- 653
464

653 [464] dren under 3 years, every adult past school age, male or female, is required to work on community projects if called by the village head. Officials may pay the village for exemption from this duty. There are two kinds of community corvées, those in which every adult and qualified member of a household has to participate, and those in which only one household representative is required to attend. As many as 12 days a year may be spent by each villager on road construction, clearing of village land, improvement of village-owned tea fields, or in similar projects. In some cases, where the central government has granted support, this work may be compensated by a small payment. More often, however, it is a free contribution to the village effort.

474 The strength of deeply rooted cooperative behavior seems to have been an essential factor in introducing formal cooperatives successfully in this area. The northern village of Oku is credited with being the first community in Kunigami province to organize a cooperative store in 1906. Initiative for this organization was provided through the Japanese administration. Taira was the first village in present-day Higashi township to establish a cooperative. In 1918 the village was poverty stricken, and village leaders, the president of the Young People's Association, one of the teachers, and others, made a study of the Oku organization. They then convinced the Taira headman of the great possibilities. Over the years the Taira cooperative supported by the majority of Tairan households, through buying of mountain products, marketing, running the store, and sugar production, tried to improve the village economy. One immediate result was that the indebtedness to money lenders from outside the village, especially to the owners of sailing junks which transported mountain products south, could be avoided. Up until the war the cooperative flourished and improved economy.

The end of the war found the village cooperative totally defunct, and it took several years to restore the organization. At present it owns [245] the store, the sugar mill, and the truck. It also controls the use of the village-owned tea fields in which everybody has the right to grow at least one row of tea bushes.

474 621 Shares in the cooperative are held by households, and almost everyone in Taira is a member. The two directors and several officers are elected by shareholders. Actually the directorship does not change often, and the most influential leaders usually hold the office. They may initiate measures which will aid the village economy, but they have no absolute power: a check and balance system protects the people. As one person put it, "It is always necessary to have a few persons outside the business so that they can check what is going on. If people of the

highest status are all engaged in it, there is no one who can check it 474
and nobody who would dare to." The accounts are checked and 621
audited, and reports are made to the members.

It is characteristic of the cooperative that it works closely with the political organization of the community and that it is an integral part of the village. In certain ways it has taken over some financial functions of the village, supplying it with funds which would otherwise have to be raised through village taxes.

The cooperative buys all firewood that has been produced by the households at a uniform price, thus giving families a great deal more security than they had in days when selling was done on a competitive basis. Since the firewood market fluctuates, the cooperative often takes a loss which would be hard for individuals to bear alone.

The truck which takes the forest products to the city returns with 474
goods for the store. All shareholders' purchases are recorded. Dividends are issued once a year. They are actually small. Part of the profits are used to finance new shares for each household. Every shareholder now owns an equal number of shares. A limited saving system has also been [454]
resumed by the postwar cooperative. The small amounts which have accumulated (few families are able to lay aside money for long periods of time) are withdrawn around New Year or on other occasions when special purchases are made.

Although the cooperative would like to finance individual projects, such as building, buying livestock, and agricultural expansion, sufficient funds are not available. Mutual finance groups are formed to extend this type of credit. A person who needs money to finance a project asks others in the village to form a partnership in which everybody who agrees to participate pays the same amount monthly, on a prearranged date, into the common fund. A different person takes a loan each month. It usually goes to the lowest bidder, except that the first loan is given to the person who asked to form the group. The difference between the bid and the actual amount collected is paid out as interest. Each person has a guarantor who is made responsible in case the actual participant is unable to make his monthly payment toward the fund.

Mutual finance groups are formed between any persons, based on 621
their willingness to participate at a certain time, either because they 452
themselves need a loan or, as happens in a few cases, because they hope to make some money from the interest. The obligation to pay is taken very seriously, although it can create tremendous hardships on individuals who have to make quick temporary arrangements to borrow money elsewhere in order to meet their monthly payments. Since

Since

621 several finance groups are formed simultaneously in the village, and
452 an individual may belong to more than one, this system can create more problems for the community than it helps to redress. Village
474 leaders therefore think that the cooperative could take over the loan functions at low interest rates more effectively.

433 Concern about improving village economy is genuine and foremost.
621 Since the whole island has common economic problems, many suggestions for developing sound village economy originate from the central
[654] government. There are many associations and movements which all aim at the same result. Their number is staggering and bewildering to the outsider. In Taira, concern for improvement of conditions is a program of the Women's Association and the Home Improvement Group, associations who try to introduce such changes as better stoves, making of bean paste by villagers, and saving during feasts. There is also an Agricultural Promotion Association which is concerned with improvement of agricultural practices, promotion of cash crops, and
[474] reduction of forest work. All these organizations, along with the cooperative and the village government, work together. An individual may be a member of several. Persons with enough knowledge and experience to assume responsible positions are limited in number, and the same persons appear as leaders in various groups. This puts a heavy burden on them, since few days pass during which their attendance after work is not required at one meeting or another.

Taira assumed a leading position in the township in improving agricultural and general economy, especially by promoting sugar development, pineapple growing, and tea raising in recent years. Mean-
154 while, low income and general poverty are a constant concern to every-
571 body but do not seem to result in constant anxiety. Security, as will be pointed out in other contexts, is provided by being a member of the kinship group and, in the wider sense, of the village as a whole. This helps to share burdens and thus reduce their weight.

Chapter 4

Property

Rice paddies, farm land and some grass land, trees on private land, a 423
house site and house, as well as livestock and tools, are owned by the
heads of households. Land is registered in the household head's name,
and he has sole right to dispose of it. Ordinarily younger sons have no [428]
right to their father's property, but a man may will property to them.
If there is no will, however, everything reverts to the eldest son. Despite
this, several families of younger sons were found to have land holdings
equal to those of eldest sons.

A widow with young sons may hold land in trust for her sons or, if [589]
there are no male heirs, may inherit the land outright. Divorcees and [428]
spinsters may also acquire land by purchase, and there are several
women in Taira who are household heads and owners of real estate. [592]

Because of the war and a general shift in population, much land [556]
and many house sites have changed owners, and former wealthy families
are no longer the largest landowners. When they returned, several
families with small prewar land holdings were able to raise the necessary cash to buy land.

There is little sentimental attachment to a particular plot of land, 423
and households have never been associated with particular plots.
Rather, land is considered a necessary commodity, and thus it fre- 592
quently changes hands. This sentiment may derive from the communal [177]
land-holding system with its periodic redistribution of plots to individuals, which was found throughout Okinawa until abolished under Japanese administration at the turn of the century.

Forest land from which villagers derive an income is owned by the 423
village. Being a member of the community confers the right to use 621
village forests, subject to regulations made by the village. Of particular
interest is the village-owned tea field, which the village cooperative 474
controls. The field has been subdivided, and each household in the

423 [621] [474] community is entitled to the use of one of the equal-sized lots. A small yearly payment is made to the cooperative, which passes these proceeds on to the village to pay salaries for officials and other expenses.

[427] Tenancy was never a problem in the Taira area. Under the old system everyone was entitled to land. The final distribution in the change to individual ownership gave everyone sufficient land. Although many new landowners sold and mortgaged their property in other parts of Okinawa, one source states that "in the villages of Kawata, Taira and Miyagushiku . . . none of 348 families was found landless . . ." [426] (Tamura 1927:292 translation). Today several families hold mortgages on their land, usually for loans to put up new buildings or some other capital investment. Nevertheless, a shortage of rice paddies is obvious, since a part of the land around Taira is owned by people from the neighboring village, and an extension of paddy land in this mountainous district would be feasible only with the aid of irrigation projects.

427 The renting of property from persons who have moved to the city is not uncommon and is a means of bolstering one's own rice or farm land. People who move out of the community, either temporarily or for longer periods, may rent their land or let relatives and even nonrelatives use it. In most cases no compensation is paid for the use of farm land, although in rare cases where the owner continues to live in the village, some agreement is made to share the harvested crop. Rice paddies, however, are rented for half the crop. The owner returns from the city during harvesting time to help in cutting and threshing the rice. If unable to return, he may hire a person to help or to make adjustments in the division of the yield. Taira people do not rent their paddies or farm lands for money. An exception may be made in the case of outside fishermen who move into the village and who may rent a small area of land from a villager. In a few cases land has been left in the care of a family member by a relative who went overseas. One of the most substantial farmers in Taira holds several such properties, part of which he owns and part of which he holds in custodianship for a relative overseas. In such a case he is entitled to exploit the land without any compensation for the departed family member.

[423] [122] Almost all local families own their houses and house lots. The thought of renting a room or house for money is somewhat foreign to the village, and in the case of the authors, "rent" for two rooms, as originally suggested by the owner of the house, was nominal. Fishermen, however, have to rent a room or a whole house. Their rent is an informal arrangement of payment in kind, fish, or other sea products. [575] In addition, bachelor teachers from outside the community who re-

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Chapter 5

Political Organization and Social Control

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THE TOWNSHIP

631 [131] Administratively Taira village is part of Higashi township, an area of approximately 30 square miles with six independent villages spread over a distance of about 15 miles along the coast. Taira is centrally located and since 1946 has been the seat of the township administration. Higashi is one of several townships in northern Okinawa. It is responsible to the central Ryukyuan government at Naha which has branch offices at Nago, the nearest town to Taira. Control over communities such as Taira by a central government is of ancient date. The Okinawan king levied taxes throughout the island and held political control over the villages until establishment of Japanese administration.

632 The township office is headed by a mayor who is elected for four years by popular vote. He nominates an assistant mayor who must be confirmed by the township assembly, a council of 16 representatives who are elected from all the villages. The Assembly meets two or three times a year to enact local ordinances, to confirm the mayor's appointments, and to approve the annual budget.

632 647 The administrative organization of the township consists of five departments, which are responsible for carrying out central government policies. The Finance and Education Department is concerned with tax collection and general school affairs. The Industrial Department acts as controlling and advising agent in all matters of subsistence and cash production. Financial help for farmers is channeled through this department. Attached to it is an Agricultural Extension Division agent who is concerned with individual farmers' problems. A General Affairs [217] Department is in charge of office administration; it is also responsible

666 tion itself is arranged and supervised by an *ad hoc* committee. In 1955 written ballots were cast and counted immediately so that the result was known within a few minutes after the last ballot was in.

622 In contrast to a position in the township administration, which carries high status, equivalent to that of a teacher, the village headman's job is considered a community service and carries little prestige. This does not mean that the headman should not be an individual of high qualities. He must be at least 25 years old; he has to have sufficient education, especially knowledge of Japanese writing characters, to read government documents and to do the required clerical work; he has to be a good accountant and must be proficient in working with the abacus, since all tax collections are supervised by him; he must be community minded and able to enforce regulations in a friendly but efficient way. The rewards are small, the salary less than that of most township officials. The office is held most frequently by young men who have not been out of high school too long. Most recent headmen are between 25 and 30 years of age. Serving in this office may mark the beginning of an administrative career, either in the township office, in the village store, or in business outside Taira. The clerk, appointed
624 by the headmen to assist in village administration, is also a young man. He too is likely to be headed toward an administrative career.

● 621 624 [203] Each village is subdivided into wards, set up originally by Japanese administration to effect greater control over families through the warden. He is a subagent of the headman, and at present he functions mainly as a channel for communications, a useful function in a village like Taira, which covers a large geographical area. Regulations, village meetings, and special events are announced through the warden, and he is often called on to collect delinquent taxes. However, he has little authority and functions more as a neighbor who takes care of necessary contacts between residents and the village administration. Ward members elect him to his honorary office for a one-year term.

623 Village affairs are discussed and legislative action concerning the village initiated by the village council. This group is now partly elected, partly composed of holders of essential offices, such as heads of associations, members of the township assembly, and township officials who live in Taira. The 26 members of the Council are responsible for measures affecting the community, and the headman relies heavily on their advice. Most councilmen are middle aged; few are over 50 years
[575] old. Since the head of the Women's Association and the nurse are members, there are at least two female representatives. The youngest councilman is usually the head of the Young People's Association.

623 555 It is apparent that leadership in the community is always exercised

623 attend." As on all occasions women usually sit together on one side or
in the rear. Few of them participate during discussions. The most active
spokesmen for the women are the head of the Women's Association and
one or two of her close assistants. If a discussion concerns such matters
as liquor and food for celebrating certain holidays, a woman may speak
[854] up. Mothers bring their infants along[1] and hold them in their arms or
nurse them when they get restless. Sometimes a child feels uncomfortable and starts crying, and the mother is forced to leave the room.

554 In general, Taira people do not enjoy being leaders or playing a
157 dominating role. There are no bosses who attempt to force issues or
● 621 dictate policies. Even people who have definite ideas on how to effect
changes would not attempt to assume full responsibility by disregarding the advice of others. "Power" is not associated with responsible
positions and village leadership. The headman and clerk perform a
duty, often loathed by them and never too highly rewarded by others.
A man commands respect for his education, age, sound advice, and
exemplary behavior, not for the office he holds. Moreover, all villagers
are friendly neighbors, and the man who is presently headman still
[632] remains a relative or neighbor to everybody. There is more prestige
associated with township offices. The mayor, who holds the highest
position, is a man of age and experience; he commands a great deal of
respect and has been elected to that office because of the high esteem
in which he is held. Occasionally one hears of power hungry persons
who are unscrupulous and authoritarian, but they are rare.

FORMAL CONTROL

625 Formal control of law and order is in the hands of the police. A
detachment of the Hentona district police is located in the village, and
one policeman is constantly stationed there. He lives with his family in
[206] a building which also has a small office. Recently a telephone with
direct connections to Hentona was installed. The policeman and his
wife are from another township.

[166] The policeman's main duty, according to villagers, is to protect
them from the occasional outside burglars or from fugitives from the
south who come north to hide in the woods. The announcement that
such a person is on the loose creates much excitement and anxiety. A
[167] second important duty is the control of the shore line. Smugglers and
illegal entrants from the Japanese island of Yoron, just to the north of
Okinawa, land along the coast. Although one man with only a
bicycle can hardly control effectively several miles of coastline, since
the only road to the outer world leads through Taira, the policeman

[1] [i.e. - to the household head meeting - ANALYST]

603 601 term. As the child gets older, the familiar suffixless form of address is used less and less frequently, though girls seem to retain it longer than boys.

601 156 576 The strength of one's ties to the community as a whole regardless of actual kinship is seen not only in the use of the term "grandmother" and "grandfather" in addressing all members of this generation but also in the similar use of the terms "uncle" and "aunt" for all members of the parental generation. Those who are not known well or who have high status are addressed by the appropriate kinship term with the suffix -san added.*

554 576 Achieved status is recognized by special terms of address. The teacher, school principal, the doctor, the village headman or mayor are addressed by their titles. Taira people combine familiarity with formality by calling a young teacher from the same or neighboring community by the first name, then adding the title "teacher." †

● 621 156 571 [157] In summary, although affiliation with a patrilineal descent group and kinship ties with kindred influence certain aspects of life, over and above these ties is the identification with the community, which is drawn together by bonds of economic and social interdependence. Individual leaders serve their term of responsibility and then return to the egalitarian community life, which is comparatively free of competitive strife.

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Chapter 7

Courtship, Marriage, and Sex

582 Most marriages in Taira take place when both men and women are in their early or middle twenties (see Table 2). It is perhaps most note-

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* This refers to the use of Japanese kinship terms which are prevalent in Taira—see Chapter 1, p. 370.

† The use of first names may also help to identify individuals since many persons have the same surname—this explanation, however, is not in contradiction with the statement concerning familiarity.

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ple did not carry it through the streets but along the shore to a spot 784
nearby where the car could pull up. [766]

Communication with ancestral or family spirits lies in the hands of
individual households or the larger kin group. In general, as with the 782
nature deities, women maintain the relationship. The oldest woman 794
in the house prays and makes offerings in front of the divine shelf or by 769
the tombs. Sometimes the high priestess, whose only regular role in the [562]
cult of ancestors centers around the mythical founder of the village
to whom vague references are made, is asked to conduct a special [793]
prayer for a family at its ancestral shrine. Such invitations are usually
the result of consultation with another religious practitioner to whom [756]
one turns in case of misfortune.*

Those who are considering a special undertaking, such as building a 791
new house or moving to another one, or transporting ancestral tablets [342]
from one home shrine to another, seek the advice of a diviner, the *sanjinsô* or *yekisha*. This expert, always a man, consults books on the workings of the universe, special astrological calendars from which he can predict events by using a horoscope calculated on the birth date of the person seeking advice.

Although it would seem from the attendance at ceremonies that 771
older people, mostly women, are the supporters of religion, even the
most modern of the Tairans seem to share beliefs in the power of the 182
supernatural forces and are loath to make an open break with traditions. One may verbalize that the old religion is just "superstition," but when it comes to dealing with adverse events, when somebody suggests that perhaps the *yuta* should be consulted, or a special offering is in order, or when the old special wine of the gods is prepared from rice for Boat Race Day, then many of the apparent apostates cooperate. To some extent this is done to appease the older people, but fear of neglecting duties, especially toward ancestors, is probably much stronger in general than people's behavior would suggest. Religious influence, then, which controlled so many facets of village life in former [621] ●
days, still acts as a strong force in uniting the members of families and descent groups as well as in binding together the community as a unit separate from other communities.

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* See Chapter 9 for description of the *yuta* or shaman.

the school. Classes are held from 9 o'clock until noon with one recess. 872
After an hour for lunch, lessons resume for all grades above first. Classes, sports, and cleanup end between 2 and 3:30 in the afternoon, the highest grades staying the longest.

All grades receive instruction in Japanese writing and reading, [871
arithmetic, science, music, and drawing. Social science is introduced in 177
the second grade. Since each class has one teacher for all subjects, shifts 191]
from one to the next subject may come in the middle of an hour. The greatest amount of time is spent in teaching Japanese reading and writing. At first grade level the simplified syllabary is taught, followed in the second grade by another syllabary and the first Chinese characters.

Parents maintain contact with the school through a Parent-Teachers 875
Association, called by the American abbreviation, PTA. Every house- 575
hold is a member. Those with children of school age are regular members who pay 15 yen (12 cents) a month; others are supposed to pay 5 yen but have become so delinquent that their fees have been dropped. The actual PTA work is done by a committee from each village, including the headman and the heads of the Women's and Young People's Associations. The main purpose of the PTA is to support the school in some of its maintenance problems. Attendance of all parents at a general meeting occurs only once a year when elections of officers take place and the PTA budget is discussed and approved.

The principals of both schools are represented in township affairs 875
and in the associations of their own community. Contact between vil- 621
lage leaders and school representatives is therefore frequent. Since [651]
education taxes are the single largest tax item which villagers pay (80% of the total tax), this representation of the principals is a necessary but burdensome duty for them.

Township education taxes are supplemented by government sub- 871
sidies. School taxes are paid by all households according to their in- 658
come and average about 515 yen ($4.30) yearly. Since 1952, govern- 651
ment orders require education taxes to be levied separately from other taxes so that people are aware of the amount destined for education; tax collection is one of the main problems in village administration, and school principals are sometimes called on to explain the need for such taxation and the obligations of individuals to carry their share of the burden.

The administration of funds and general school matters are the re- [632]
sponsibility of an official in the township finance department. During 1954–1955, 310,344 yen ($2586) were collected by the township in education taxes. The government subsidy amounted to 3,716,397 yen

would be nothing more uproarious than a group of singing celebrants 527
seeking further entertainment from house to house. The occasional 273
quarrels after drinking, which are mentioned elsewhere, seemed much 574
more frequent where only a small group of men indulged after work, 578
especially younger ones. No major holidays ended in dissonance.

The main events for family celebrations are lunar New Year, *seimei,*
a period in spring during which descent group ancestors are revered 527
and *Bon,* a commemoration of the dead in the fall. At these times 796
families are reunited with relatives from other villages or the city. 769
These events are observed in the home or in front of the ancestral tombs. During *Bon* young men and women go from house to house, performing traditional dances for this holiday in front of the assembled families.

Celebration of special birthday cycles and agricultural events, such 527
as the day when ditches in the paddies were cleaned in former times, are observed by villagers as a group. An important religious event for the community is Boat Race Day in lunar June. On lunar August 15, the celebration of the full August moon, some villagers present stage performances and dances at a public celebration.

In general, it may be said that families gather as a unit on those [769]
days on which ancestors and deceased family members are commemorated. The village jointly celebrates events which are either based on [621]
local religion or on agricultural events. The only national holiday which is now in existence was established by the post-war Ryukyuan government. It is observed by school and government offices but not by the people.

Sport events form another category of holidays. The most important 526
one falls in October when both in Japan and all over the Ryukyus
athletes compete against each other. Athletic meets take place for sev- 628
eral weeks; for the village the biggest event is the competition of all athletes in the township on *undokai* day. Everyone leaves work and takes picnic food to the track at the junior high school where each village competes against the others. This lasts all day.

Wrestling matches are part of entertainment during outdoor celebrations in the early summer. They are mainly an affair for young men. Occasionally an older man who feels strong enough challenges a
younger one. The villagers sit around a large circle near the beach, [262]
watching the fights while they eat holiday food and drink sake. On Boat Race Day Taira and the neighboring village of Kawata race fishing canoes against each other. Spectators at this event are enthusiastic
supporters of their favorites. After the races this holiday ends like any [574]
other, in celebrations with dance and drinking.

Amami Oshima, Okinawa, Miyako, and Yaeyama.[1] Although they appear to differ 197
widely, mutual intelligibility prevails, and informants from other islands assured
me that they had managed to understand Okinawan in a short time though
most preferred to use Japanese rather than attempt the new dialect.

Okinawan Dialects The Okinawan dialect area, Okinawa and its offshore islands,
contains many sub-dialects or local speech groups, all of
which are easily mutually intelligible. It would be an exaggeration to state
that there is a distinctive dialect for each community; yet the variety and diversity
of local speech forms constantly impresses one. Nakasone has distinguished
five dialects in the Kunigami area alone, and this does not include
nearly a dozen and a half distinctive speech islands within the same area.[2]
These local speech peculiarities are often pointed out with considerable pride [621]
and seem much prized as symbolic of a community's identity.

The dialects of Naha, Shuri, and certain of the larger towns such as
Itoman and Yonabaru, are quite distinctive and easily recognized by the Okinawans.
Naha dialect is most widely spoken and easily understood throughout the [554]
island, and because of its association with the capital carries the greatest
prestige among Okinawan speakers. Old residents of Naha complain that their [177]
dialect has deteriorated and become coarsened since the war due to the heavy
influx from other areas of people who speak the dialect imperfectly. By this
they refer to the loss of certain polite forms and the inundations of Japanese.
Some Shuri people will contend that the "best" Okinawan is spoken in their
city. In the past this was undoubtedly a widely accepted point of view, but [648]
with the advent of Japanese administration---exile of the king, removal of the [177]
capital to Naha, abolition of the upper classes---Shuri's prestige as a cultural
center rapidly declined. A number of informants, rural and urban, felt [545]
that the "purest" Okinawan was heard in the Naha theaters, particularly at the
Naha Gekijō, where daily performances of modern and historical dramas are presented.
Itoman dialect is considered to be very coarse and rough by the people [554]
of other communities, and hence is accorded a low prestige. This is in part [226]
due to certain prosodic features of the dialect which render it unlike other
Okinawan dialects, but more likely it is due to the fact that this town largely
derives its livelihood from fishing, an occupation regarded with opprobrium by
farmers and urbanites alike. The neighboring farm village of Kanegusuku, though
less than a quarter of a mile away and long associated with Itoman, preserves a
dialect distinct from it.

This dialectic diversity on Okinawa reflects to a certain extent the [361]
physical isolation of the typical village, a tightly-nucleated cluster of
dwellings surrounded by fields. It is also a product of the social structure 197
in the Okinawan kingdom. Prior to annexation by Japan (1879), farmers were 105
little more than serfs bound to the soil and forbidden to leave their native [566]
village, while the gentry and nobility were for the most part concentrated in [565]
the urban Naha-Shuri district. Rural villages tended to be isolated, self-sustaining
units; most were composed of a dominant kin group (munchu) and [621]
several smaller and possibly remotely related kin groups, or of several unrelated
kin groups more nearly equal in size. A munchu was made up of a number

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[1] Miyanaga /Miyara/, 1950, p. 39.

[2] Nakasone, 1937, pp. 242-258.

105 A *munchu* was made up of a number
197 of households or families united through the male line, descended from a common
[619] ancestor, and sharing a common tomb. Village endogamy was an obligatory mar-
[582] riage practice and violations did not pass unpunished; in addition kin group
endogamy was a preferred practice, though not necessarily an obligatory one.
[628] Intervillage contacts and ties, consequently, were held to a minimum. These cus-
[178] toms were followed by the majority of the oldest generation now living, and
even today such practices tend to persist in rural areas. A survey in Kanegu-
[582] suku revealed that fifty percent of the marriages were between members of the
same kin group and sixty-six percent of the marriages were between residents of
[178] the same village. Such practices, to be sure, are breaking down, and this be-
comes evident when the above data are analyzed on an age basis, but in view of
the fact that these customs still prevail, though to a more limited extent than
formerly, it is not surprising that so considerable a diversity of dialects
should also be preserved.

197 Another facet of Okinawan dialect geography is the occurrence of small
• 621 speech-islands exhibiting dialects distinct from those of the surrounding areas.
184 These are the so called *yaadui* settlements founded during the 18th and 19th cen-
turies by migrants from the Naha-Shuri area; the newcomers were usually the
younger sons of gentry families seeking their livelihood in the country. Such
settlements not only enjoyed a political independence from the larger surround-
ing communities but also were never incorporated into the formal religious
system centering on the *nuru* priestess and unifying the rural areas. These
factors together with previously-mentioned marriage practices enabled such set-
tlements to preserve their identity. Kitazato in Kami Motobu-son serves as a
good example of this type of village, having been settled seven generations
ago by the younger sons of gentry families residing in Naha and Shuri. The
larger neighboring villages never absorbed Kitazato, and to this day it pre-
[194] serves a dialect quite distinct from theirs. The most notable contrast be-
tween them centers on the *p* and *h* sounds in the two dialects, for all *p* sounds
of nearby Gushiken are rendered *h* in Kitazato; thus, the word for "fire" is *pi*
in the dialect of the former and *hi* in the latter's.

197 Undoubtedly this dialectic diversity is decreasing as the old customs
178 die out and the isolation of the village disappears. The war uprooted many
communities and scattered their inhabitants about the island, and nearly all
villages now have a number of families new to the village since the war. New
communities like the entertainment center of Koza have no characteristic dia-
lect of their own, containing as they do a heterogeneous population recruited
from all parts of the Ryukyus. The vast improvements in roads and transporta-
tion services since the end of the war have given the people a mobility un-
dreamed of in the prewar period and have done much to destroy the isolation of
the rural areas.

192 "*Uchinaaguchi*" Okinawans call their dialect *uchinaaguchi* and themselves
[101] *uchinaanchu*. The terms 'Okinawago', Japanese for Okinawan
language, and 'hōgen', Japanese for dialect, are also in common usage though
the latter term is resented by some who feel that it carries the connotation
"rustic". Today all Okinawan speech contains many loan words from Japanese;
this obtains for those who know no Japanese as well as for those who are bi-
lingual. Intimate contact with Japanese coupled with this word borrowing has

Intimate contact with Japanese coupled with this word borrowing has
resulted in a tendency toward slight sound shifts in the direction of Japanese 194
phonology; this is particularly true among the bilingual speakers. The same 177
process is operative in the Japanese of these Okinawan speakers in that there
is a tendency toward Okinawan phonology.

The real strongholds of Okinawan speech today are the family and the 191
rural areas. In an old and relatively unchanged village like Kanegusuku little 178
Japanese is heard despite the fact that most of the villagers are bilingual. 177
That Okinawan is the language of the family is best demonstrated by the pre-
school-age children who do not speak or understand any Japanese aside from a 621●
few greetings and polite phrases. Likewise men over sixty and women over fifty-
five usually cannot speak Japanese. The remainder of the village, approximately
seventy percent of the total, is bilingual; however, this figure is somewhat
misleading in so far as actual usage is concerned. A majority of the married
women use Japanese infrequently since Okinawan is the language of their daily
lives, which are largely confined to the village and home. For the men, a num-
ber of whom have seen service abroad in the Japanese forces, there is a greater
freedom of movement and a wider range of contacts providing more occasion for
the use of Japanese. Yet within the village many of them preferred to use Oki-
nawan, and even the high school students were inclined to shed their Japanese
on returning to the village. A number of bilingual informants ascribed this
preference for Okinawan to the influence of the old people who understood Ja-
panese imperfectly or not at all. As one informant put it, "The old people in
this village just don't like being spoken to in Japanese, and if some person
does this, they say he is trying to be big." Undoubtedly their influence is a
strong factor, but this preference is also likely attributable to a low degree
of proficiency in Japanese. Prior to the postwar period few villagers ob-
tained more than a sixth grade education; consequently, many are not as articu- [871]
late in Japanese as they are in Okinawan. It should also be noted that within
the village a selective factor operates so as to perpetuate the use of Okinawan.
Mention is made in another section of this report of a mayor's comment to the [166]
effect that all those who receive a good education, high school or university,
soon leave the village. Thus, the very group most likely to further the spread
of Japanese leaves before its influence is felt.

The resentment of the oldest generation toward the use of Japanese re- 191
solves itself among the younger, bilingual generations into an attitude that 829
Japanese imparts a certain formality to an occasion, and hence situations call-
ing for the use of Okinawan or Japanese tend to be rather compartmentalized in 177
their minds. Formal occasions prescribe the use of Japanese and informal ones
Okinawan. Village political meetings and elections were always conducted in
Japanese, and when the 'son' officials made one of their periodic inspections
of the village, only Japanese was used in addressing them. On the other hand
the use of Japanese at a party would be regarded as too formal and a bit un-
friendly, and, of course, with old people and children only Okinawan is used.
Besides the formal-informal dichotomy there exists the feeling among the better-
educated bilinguals that Japanese is a modern and sophisticated language whereas
Okinawan is backward and rustic.

There are several aspects of Okinawan culture wherein the local lan- 191
guage is used to the exclusion of Japanese; chief among these are the theater 178

CHAPTER III: AGRICULTURAL HISTORY, LAND USE AND DIET

F. R. Pitts

121 The concept of the unchanging Orient certainly fails to appear true
178 in the case of Okinawa, when the past is examined closely. Indeed, it seems
hard to find an area where so much change has been accomplished so fast. The
following is designed to show some major aspects of that change, particularly
insofar as the farmer is concerned.

1. Agricultural History

175 The Early Days As early as the 1730's when the great Okinawan statesman,
241 Saion, urged the growing of the sago palm 'sotetsu', farmers
178 were already used to orders and suggestions from the gentry as to modification
of their traditional ways. But it was not until the growth of population and
the money economy that changes were to be brought about, not so much by orders
from above, but chiefly by the workings of economic forces.

175 The ultimately most effective agent of change had been the introduc-
177 tion of the sugar cane plant in 1623 and its concomitant technique of sugar
433 manufacture.[1] It was not until a decade after the Japanese took over the
249 islands, however, that sugar production began to increase, and not until after
the Russo-Japanese war that sugar really became an important crop in the econ-
omy. By 1939 the production of sugar amounted to more than a million tons,
and production exceeded consumption by ninefold.[2] By the end of the 1951-1952
winter pressing season, production had declined to 256,000 tons.[3]

175 About the time of Commodore Perry's visit the population of Okinawa
621 had begun to grow, and new areas were settled by both commoners and the gen-
try. Nanahan dates its existence from this period. Of the first three fami-
lies to settle here, one came from Shuri gentry, and two others were commoners
from the main settlement of Tomoyose. Of the seven settlements of the village
of Yamada, three were settled by commoners and one by the gentry. All had
come from the urban areas of the south in the latter part of the last century.
[829] In Okinawa everyone seems to be aware of his place in history, and in the older
settlements one often hears the remark, "...they are newcomers; they have been
here for only two hundred years."

175 In general the agricultural history of Okinawa falls into three per-
241 iods. The first saw a self-sufficient economy, in which banana cloth was
178 made in the village. The chief crops were millet, arrowroot, and sweet po-
433 tatoes. With the introduction of a money economy, and its further intensifi-
[177] cation under the Japanese, sugar gradually turned from its previous use as a
home confection to a full money crop. Rice acreage fell as more sugar was
planted, and sweet potatoes found a greater place in the diet. The old crops
of millet, cassava, and arrowroot were all but abandoned in Shimajiri, and
became less important in the north. The third period is essentially the post-
war and still continuing one, in which the growing of vegetables for the

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[1] Navy Handbook, p. 240.

[2] CAARI, p. 156.

[3] Summation of U. S. Army Military Government Activities in the Ryukyu Islands, July-November 1946, p. 25.

746 one case investigated, the village secretary and most of the village people thought that a certain old repatriate should be on relief, if only to receive money to obtain the tobacco he could not buy. The 'son' office was not told about his elder brother's second son, who lives in Osaka. Nor was any check made on the untrue report that he was ill, for no medical proof or witnesses are needed. Upon moving from his sister-in-law's house to a grass shack next door, he was placed upon the relief list to receive the monthly maximum of ¥250 (about $2.08).

746 177 The 'son' office also supervises the distribution to persons on relief of clothes supplied by the American relief agency RIVAC (Ryukyu Islands Voluntary Agencies Committee). Each person receives free two or three useful items upon signing for their receipt with his chop. These are greatly appreciated by the recipients.

621 427 Rentals of Village-Owned Land Each village generally owns some grassland, some forest land, and a pond or two. These they rent out to the highest bidder. The 'genya' or grassland is rented anew each year, and the person may keep it in grass, or may convert it to dry crop land ('hatake'). The only requirement is that he must not let the grass grow long and shade the nearby crops. The plot owned by Tomoyose village used to be the village horse-powered sugar mill before the better one was built before the war.

[228] [423] Ponds owned by the village are rented out to the highest bidder in a secret bid, for a period of two years. The renter uses the pond to raise carp. Forest land, I was told, is not supposed to be owned by the village, so it is recorded in the land register as the property of a prominent private individual.

651 [632] Taxes The Okinawan farmer is subject to a great number of official taxes. The following is a list of the fifteen 'sonzei', or township taxes, of Kanegusuku-son. Legally these are called district taxes, or 'chihō-zei'.

Tax Name	Translation
Sonmin-zei	Township Citizens' Tax (on all persons who are able to work, except students)
Tochi-zei	Land Tax
Fudōsan Shutoku zei	Real Estate Acquisition Tax
Kaoku-zei	House (or Building) Tax
Kōgyō-zei	Tax for Industry (eg: 'sake' factory)
Gyubasha-zei	Tax for Horsecart or Oxcart
Jidōsha-zei	Auto, Bus and Jitney Tax (Motor Vehicle Tax)
Rajio-zei	Radio Tax
Denchū-zei	Electric Pole Tax
Tochiku-zei	Slaughter Tax
Chikken-zei	Dog Tax
Sempaku-zei	Boat Tax
Jitensha-zei	Bicycle Tax
Denwa-zei	Telephone Tax
Jigyō-zei	Business Tax

In addition to the above, a 'kenkyū-hi' (study charge) is collected to supplement the pay of the school teachers. The most important of the above taxes are the 'sonmin-zei', the 'tochi-zei', and the 'kaoku-zei'. In Kochinda-son there was instituted for the first time in 1953 an Education Tax, or 'kyōiku-zei'. In most cases this amount was about 10% larger than the 'sonmin-zei' amount. All Nanahan taxes have constantly risen during the years 1951, 1952 and 1953. In part this may reflect the rising value of the land, especially that converted into paddies. But it is also in part a reflection of the rising cost of government. The average of all taxes per household in Kochinda-son for 1952 was ¥486; the tax amount per individual was ¥104.[1] 651

Payments to Officials From the taxes paid by the 'son' citizens come the salaries of the village mayors and the salaries of those employed at the 'son' office. In addition, the 'son' pays for the transportation costs of township assemblymen ('son-giin') so that they may attend meetings held at the village office. The following is a list of the functions of persons working at the Kochinda-son office in 1954: 632

Title	Translation
Sonchō	Township Mayor
Joyaku	Assistant Mayor
Shūnyū-yaku	Treasurer
Keizai-shunin	Head of the Economic Department
Keizaika-in (2)	Member of the Economic Department (2 persons)
Sōmuka-shunin	Head of the General Affairs Dept.
Sōmuka-in	Member of General Affairs Dept. (doubles as Secretary to the Mayor)
Tōkei-shokuin	Statistics Clerk
Koseki-chōsain	Census Registry Inquiry Clerk
Koseki-seibi-in (2)	Census Registry Arrangement Clerks (2)
Tochi-gakari	Persons in Charge of Land Affairs
Zaimuka-shunin	Head of the Financial Department
Zaimuka-in	Member of the Financial Department
Engojimu-in	Person in Charge of Relief and Aid
Shakai-jigyo-in	Person in Charge of Social Affairs
Shakai-fukushi-shi	Public Welfare Officer
Kōmuka-in	Person in Charge of Industrial Dept.
Nōgyō-kairyō-fukyū-in	Person in Charge of Agricultural Improvement and Diffusion
Shitei	Servant

On the village level there are other taxes that never enter into the official tax figures. Each 'hanchō', or ward head, collects in Tomoyose monthly about 10% of the year's estimated 'sonmin-zei'. This, however, is not that tax, but is used for the expenses of the village. Much of it goes to pay the expenses of the village clerk. 651 621

Levies In addition to the levy mentioned above, designed to supplement the low salaries of school teachers, there are irregular levies made for special occasions. One very informal levy observed during my stay was a collection of money for the reversion movement. Others include levies upon 651

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[1] Ryūkyū tōkei hōkoku, op. cit., p. 84.

Others include levies upon
651 organizations and families to support the athletic meets, or 'undōkwai',
[526] which are such a popular part of life in Okinawa.

575 Before the war the women's group ('fujinkai') and the young people's
178 group ('seinendan') levied a certain amount of soybeans against each member,
and when they were delivered the sale brought in money to finance their ac-
tivities. These organizations also made up special meals for local athletic
[528] favorites while they were in training, and provided a feast for them at the
526 end of the contests. Today the 'undōkwai' is on more of a monetary basis,
651 and there is a levy called the 'undōkwai no keihi'. In October of 1953, the
632 cost of the grand athletic meeting held in Naha was divided among the 'son'
according to the number of champions sent to the contest. Kochinda-son was
top grade in Shimajiri, and Tomoyose was a middle-grade village within
Kochinda-son. This grade was judged by the amount of arable land, its yield,
and the population. Within the village, households in turn are assessed by
three grades, according to their income tax records. These three grades
were "minimum," under ¥20; "middle", ¥20-50; and "maximum", ¥50-54.

• 621 **Local Philanthropy** From time to time the leading household heads are called
upon to donate money for improvement of village facili-
741 ties. Names of contributors and amounts given are written upon a wooden
plaque and hung in the village meeting house. The building of this meeting
house itself involved the gathering of such a fund, to which Nanahan people
gave a total of ¥1,450. Later a request for funds to buy a funeral stretcher
brought ¥350 from the household heads, and a road repair campaign netted
¥1,550 from Nanahan.

Somewhat the reverse of the above occurred after the Russo-Japanese war when a particularly handsome soldier from the neighboring village came back from the front. All the leading 'geisha' in Naha had long had the habit of asking him to come to their establishments without charge. His return brought such joy to their hearts that they got together a sum of money and bought him a large plot of land near Nanahan.

52 **Prizes at Contests** From the time a youngster enters school and participates in his first contest to the time when he shows an animal at his last village or 'son' festival before retiring, all winners look forward to some sort of prize to mark the occasion. In school the prizes are generally beautifully handwritten scrolls, but as one gets older the prizes assume the form of wooden trays and articles of practical use in the home.

858 **Sale of Children** When the SIRI team first arrived on Okinawa and mentioned
432 that we were interested in finding if the Okinawans still
[183] practiced the sale of children, sophisticated respondents feigned indignation.
Later on, as we were able to gain rapport in the countryside, a number of such
instances were forthcoming.

In Tomoyose a man got into debt over an effort to make a fortune in sugar along about 1910. He was so heavily in debt to village people that he was socially unable to live in the community, and moved to Itoman. There he sold his son to a fisherman. The son is now a grown man with an Okinawan wife and a mistress from Amami. His business is still fishing, although he also owns a truck.

CHAPTER VI: POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND CONTROL

W. P. Lebra

1. Territorial Organization

631 The territory of the Ryukyuan government is subdivided into a number of municipalities whose administrations are directly responsible to the central government in Naha. There are three types of municipalities---city ('shi'), town ('chō'), and township ('son')---depending on their population and character. The 'shi' (city) and 'chō' (town) are urban municipalities whereas the 'son' (township) is always rural. Each of these are in turn subdivided into 'ku' which are equivalent to wards in the urban municipalities and to villages or hamlets in the rural. This study shall concern itself exclusively with the governments of the 'son' and 'ku'. As of May 1954 there were four cities, four towns, and forty-eight townships on Okinawa and its peripheral islands, and these contained over five hundred villages and settlements.

632 The governmental designations in use on Okinawa are the same as those
191 employed in Japan though there are several minor distinctions. A 'son' or
township in Japan and Okinawa is a collective grouping of a number of separate
communities or villages into a single administrative unit. In Japan the 'son'
is a fairly recent creation, dating back to the late nineteenth century; in
most cases it is a rather arbitrary grouping of villages in the interests of
administrative expediency. It is exclusively a governmental unit, rarely a
social or historical entity. This, however, is not the case on Okinawa.
175 Prior to Japanese annexation the present 'son' on Okinawa were called *majiri*;
632 in the Okinawan feudal age (*aji nu yuu*---Age of the Aji or Manor Lords) these
were the hereditary fiefs of the local lords. Later, after the end of feudalism in the fifteenth century they became the administrative districts of the Shuri government. Each district was headed by an official (*jiturei*) appointed by the king, and the *majiri* or district was most important as the land-disbursing unit in a system of communal land ownership. It also served as the basic tax unit, since taxes were levied against the *majiri* by the Shuri government rather than against the individual family or village. Each *majiri*, like the present-day 'son', consisted of a number of small villages called *mura*, the equivalent of the present-day 'aza' or 'ku'. After Japan formally annexed the Ryukyus in 1879, the old administrative system was not immediately abolished and continued to exist for some time. The system of communal land tenure and taxation lasted until 1903, and the *majiri* were not converted into their present-day counterpart, the 'son', until 1907. In most cases the old *majiri* name was given to the new 'son', which generally corresponded to the territory of the former although a few of the larger ones have since been subdivided. For example, Motobu was divided into Motobu and Kami Motobu. In most cases, however, there has been a continuity in political districts since the feudal period.

621 Each 'son' is made up of a number of villages which are called 'aza' or 'ku' by official designation. For all practical purposes the two terms

621 mean the same thing, village, although the term 'aza' tends to be geographical in connotation whereas 'ku' refers more to the political community. Official land maps use the designation 'aza' and the same term is used for one's postal address. Conversely, the 'koseki' (household registry) kept in the township office is labelled as the 'koseki' of a certain 'ku', and the political head or mayor of a village is referred to as the 'kuchō' ('ku' leader or head). The villagers never use the term 'ku' in referring to their village; instead the terms 'aza', mura, or 'buraku' are used. The township of Kanegusuku-son located in southern Okinawa approximately three miles south of Naha on the west coast is subdivided into eight villages or 'aza', each of these comprising a separate settlement surrounded by its fields.

621 103 Every 'aza' consists of a number of haru (cognate to the Japanese hara) which best translates as "field". Kanegusuku, one of the eight villages of Kanegusuku-son and the one from which it takes its name, consists of eight haru, though the number in a given village is completely arbitrary. These haru or fields are local designations for the various areas of a village and are well known to all the villagers. The haru names are fairly similar from village to village throughout Okinawa though occasionally local geographical features or place names, particularly those of streams, are used. Names like vii baru (upper field), agari baru (east field), iri baru (west field), kushi baru (back field), mee baru (front field), shicha baru (lower field) are found in nearly every village. It is interesting to note that the names north field and south field rarely occur, and where they do occur, the author suspects that they have been put in use quite recently, for in the old, typical Okinawan village all of the houses face south, and the field names are usually ordered around this orientation. Thus, mee baru (front field) is usually south of the village while kushi baru (back field) is usually on the north side. This carries over into the household naming system (yago) employed by the villagers to designate each of the house lots within the settlement.

621 311 [423] Each haru is broken into many small parcels or plots of land. On the village land maps every plot is assigned to one of six categories---house or building land, irrigated land, dry farm land, grass land, forest land, and miscellaneous, including tomb land. Each plot is also given a number on the land maps and in the land registry ('tochi daichō') for the purpose of identification, though oftentimes the villagers refer to them by local names.

2. Political Organization[1]

642 [631] There are three levels of government (exclusive of military government) existing on Okinawa today---the central government (Government of the Ryukyu Islands), municipal governments ('shi-chō-son'), and 'ku' (ward or village) governments. The structure of government is pyramidal, there is a hierarchial chain of command, and each echelon of government exceeds in authority the unit immediately below it. There is no allocation of rights and powers as exists among the various national, state, and local segments of American government, since the state operates as a highly-organized and heavily centralized unitary whole. Variation in the form and function of local government from one area to another is slight. Individuals appear to play but a small role in this

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[1] A major part of the information presented in this chapter derives from the author's study in the township of Kanegusuku-son and particularly in one of its villages, Kanegusuku-ku. This has been supplemented by data gathered in briefer studies in other parts of Okinawa. 101

One of his major responsibilities to the township office is tax collection with- 622
in the village; yet, his actual powers are slight, as nearly all of his official [651]
acts are first sanctioned by the villagers or the township office. It seemed
to the author that the chief role of the 'kuchō' was as an intermediary be- [632]
tween the people and the township office or as an agent for the latter, rather
than as an administrator. It would seem that the payment of his salary by the
township instead of by the village is symbolic of his actual role.

Assisting the 'kuchō' are several officers the first of which is the 624
assistant mayor ('fuku-kuchō') who is elected at the same time as the mayor and
serves for one year. He is paid ¥480 ($4.00) per month, and like the mayor he [465]
must be over 27 and a household head. In the absence of the mayor he functions
in his place, and on all other occasions he assists him in his work. A vil-
lage clerk ('shōki') is also elected at the same time as the 'kuchō', and serves [465]
for a term of one year; he is paid a salary of ¥700 ($5.83) each month. The
main qualifications for this position are that one have a fair amount of edu-
cation and a good mastery of characters for writing. The job holds little
appeal since it demands much of the individual's time and affords little in
the way of prestige or pay. In Kanegusuku-ku in December of 1953 three elec-
tions were held in an effort to fill this position before someone finally and
quite reluctantly accepted it.

An advisory body of four councillors ('hyōgiin') assists the mayor in 623
his administration; they represent each of the four neighborhoods or districts
of the village. They are elected at the same time as the mayor, serve for one
year, and receive a salary of ¥20 (17¢) per meeting. According to the vil- [465]
lagers this body has replaced the earlier yuushi which was an unelected ad-
visory council made up of former village officials, the village equivalent of
elder statesmen. The 'kuchō' never undertakes an independent course of action;
he first consults the 'hyōgiin' and obtains their approval and suggestions be-
fore initiating action.

Each village of Kanegusuku-son elects two men to represent it in the 624
township ('son') assembly ('sonkai'); they are elected for a term of four years. 632
Older, mature men who have held several official positions are always selected.
They also play a part in village administration and are considered village of-
ficials. At all meetings they sit with the officials, and their opinion is
much valued.

All matters of real importance are submitted to the household heads 621
who form the real body politic within the village. The electorate for the 592
village consists exclusively of household heads; to vote in a village elec- 666
tion one must be a household head or one appointed by him to vote in his place,
but in township and national elections universal suffrage obtains. At one
village election which the author witnessed in December of 1953 balloting be-
gan as soon as the meeting was called to order without any preliminary speeches
or nominations. It was later stated that the election and likely candidates
had been informally discussed among the village leaders and household heads
so that there was no need for preliminaries. The same situation seemed to pre-
vail when meetings were held to discuss matters of general concern; the ap-
parent unanimity of opinion and agreement indicated that informal concordance
had been reached well in advance of formal discussion and decision.

621 177 For administrative purposes villages are subdivided into sections or neighborhoods called 'han' or 'kumi'. There is considerable variation in the use of these terms throughout Okinawa, in part occasioned by the recency of their introduction and by the confusion following the end of the war. In 1940 [648] the Japanese government ordered all municipalities ('shi-chō-son') subdivided into 'rimpō-han' (settlement sections) which in turn were subdivided into 'tonari-gumi' (neighborhood groups). The move was a political one designed to insure more effective control; the divisions were often quite arbitrary and had little relation to social groupings. The term 'kumi', however, had been in use for a long time in both Japan and Okinawa, referring to a group of households. That [178] these subdivisions have survived into the postwar period indicates that they are fulfilling a function necessary to village administration.

621 624 A large village such as Henza (of Henza Shima), which has a population of 3800, is subdivided into 5 'han' each headed by an official called 'hanchō'. Every 'han' is subdivided into 'kumi'; there are 41 'kumi' in the village, approximately 8 to each 'han'. Each 'kumi' contains from 12-20 houses; the head of the 'kumi' is the 'kumichō'. In a smaller village such as Kanegusuku-ku which has a population of 507, the 'han' no longer exists; instead the term 'kumi' is applied to the four subdivisions of the village. In Kanegusuku the 'kumichō' functions as the intermediary between the 'kuchō' and the people of the area; there are on the average 25 houses in each 'kumi'. 'Kumichō' are elected each year by the 'kumi' though in actuality the position is really rotated among the households within the 'kumi'. One of the chief functions of the 'kumi' is to provide labor for community work projects. When the township office requests that the 'kuchō' have his village repair a section of a road, he calls in the 'kumichō' and tells them how many workers will be needed. The 'kumichō' notify the household heads within their 'kumi' and the households supply in rotation the needed labor. When local clean-up is in order as preparation for a township inspection, the 'kumichō' supervises the work in his area. Tax collections for village finances are generally made by him, and when tax collections are made by the township, he notifies his constituents as to the time and place of payment.

The importance of the 'kumichō' or 'hanchō' is dependent on the physical nature of the village and its size. In a small tightly-nucleated village like Kanegusuku the 'kumichō' functions mainly as an intermediary or messenger between the 'kuchō' and the people of the 'kumi' and as a foreman on their work details. In a larger village whose 'han' are scattered into more isolated neighborhoods or settlements the 'hanchō' often functions more like a 'kuchō'. In Kanegusuku the divisions are more or less arbitrary ones, and there is definitely no feeling of strong identity with a particular 'kumi'. However, in the village of Tomoyose where Pitts studied, the isolated settlement of Nanahan (literally ("Han Seven") felt itself to be a distinct unit and functioned not unlike a very small village.

621 344 Most villages have a small building set aside for use as an office or meeting place. These are usually called muraya in Okinawan or 'jimusho' in Japanese. In a large village like Henza the office is nearly as large as those of some of the smaller 'son', containing desks, telephone, records, and a full-time staff. In Kanegusuku a small bare hut large enough for only a dozen people suffices. When village meetings are held, the officials sit inside the building while the people sit outside facing them. Village records are stored in the home of the 'kuchō' or the clerk.

625 high esprit. A policeman's salary is high when compared to that of other government workers and the general public; in addition the job has other advantages such as a uniform and free transportation on public conveyances.

● 621 625 In rural areas there seems to be some resentment over what is considered to be high pay and special privileges for policemen; this was particularly true where the local policeman was not a native son. In one of the more isolated villages of northern Okinawa, a community which is noted for and prides itself on its strong community spirit, there was some irritation with what they felt to be an unnecessary presence of a policeman (not native to the village) in their midst. The village 'kuchō' and several villagers assured the author that the village was a most peaceful one, everyone cooperated well together, and there was never any stealing or violence. They were also resentful of the fact that the village supplied the policeman with free food and charcoal and that his pay, nevertheless, was about equal to that of their highly respected school principal.

875 625 554 It should be noted that whenever the low pay of teachers was mentioned the correspondingly high pay of the police was cited. The teacher traditionally has been venerated in this culture, and it is held that the teacher is a better-educated person and should, therefore, receive a higher salary, as was the case before the war. In the past the higher positions in the bureaucracy were accorded or ideally should be accorded those with better educations, and since both the policeman and the teacher are civil government employees, the present situation with regard to their respective salaries seems unjust.

625 829 Most people express the belief that the police are honest and conscientious though their high pay may be resented. A number of people observed that the police are much better under the American military administration than they were under the Japanese government before the war, in that they are more polite and less officious today. Under present laws the powers of the police have been clearly defined to insure that they will not violate the rights of individuals as was frequently done in the past. Not a few Okinawans will contend that this curbing of police power while probably democratic has encouraged an increase in crime in recent years. The traditional attitude toward the policeman seems to be a mixture of fear and respect, and mothers frequently use the threat to call a policeman as a means of disciplining a child who misbehaves.

4. Political Participation by Women

562 [666] Since the end of the war universal suffrage has been introduced into Okinawan political life. The enfranchisement of women has not brought with it a surge of political activity on their part. It is now theoretically possible for a woman to hold public office, but in actuality none to date has been elected to a national or municipal office. One woman declared herself a candidate for the Ryukyuan legislature in 1954 but later withdrew from the campaign shortly before election time. In the rural areas political participation by women is even more limited. The men in the village of Kanegusuku laugh when the subject of women in politics is mentioned; they say

that a woman can hold office today since the government has made this law, but that they would never permit this to happen. In village elections only household heads are permitted to vote, and in practice only they are eligible for the village offices. If a woman is a household head (and there are eighteen in this category in Kanegusuku) she is allowed to vote, but she would never be considered for any village office. Most women would not want the job if it were available to them, for this is considered a part of the affairs of men and inconsistent with the traditional concept of woman's role of wife and mother. Women are vaguely aware that their legal and political status has altered under the American military administration, and nearly all have heard stories about America where women are said to be very influential, but they are not so sure that what is good for Americans will necessarily work for them. 562 [177] [829]

An exception to the generally inactive role of women in political affairs is found in Okinawan fishing communities. In Itoman and Henza, which derive their living from fishing, shipping, and ferrying, the men are away much of the time, and the women exercise considerably more control over family and financial matters than elsewhere on Okinawa. Itoman women are noted throughout the island for their independence and shrewdness in financial matters, and there is a common saying that an Itoman woman doesn't need a man if she has a house. On Henza Island the lower echelons of the village political hierarchy are completely dominated by women. The five 'hanchō' are women, each heading a political unit of about eight hundred persons, and the forty-one 'kumichō' are also women. Despite this one gets the impression that women are participating in Henza political life in the absence of the men just as they have a larger role in the management of family affairs than the women of farming villages because the absence of their men has made this a practical necessity. To date no woman has been elected to the position of 'kuchō' nor does it seem likely that one will be in the near future. Perhaps this also serves to define more clearly the real nature of the 'hanchō' and 'kumichō' as messengers for the 'kuchō' instead of as administrators, and that positions of real power are still retained by men. 562 184 621

5. The Political Community

The rural village constitutes a political, territorial, and social unit; its membership is bound together by a common cultural heredity and shares a common experience. All the villagers have attended the same schools, cooperated in village projects, participated in community ceremonies and celebrations, and joined the same organizations. The prevailing marriage practice still tends toward endogamy, and in many places they speak a dialect with features distinct from that of their neighbors. National organizations serve to unite the youth, women, and farmers into their respective local groups for common action and benefit. Further integration is assured by practices of reciprocal labor exchange among the households. 621 [582] [197]

The major social institutions of rural Okinawa are the family-kin group and the community. Within the former there exists a strict hierarchy 621 592 [181]

621 among its membership, and all relationships are highly structured. Though
592 age-grades tend to structure the membership of the community, this is not
[561] too important, as the basic unit within the village is the family, not the
individual. The community is regarded as an association of families
[565] bound together in a relationship of equality. Such differences as exist
in wealth and land holdings are not so great as to constitute class
[178] differentiation; likewise the old Okinawan class structure is no longer of
any real significance, and in most rural communities the bulk of the families
were and still are of commoner descent.

621 The concept of political participation by households is basic to
829 the thinking of the villagers. Universal suffrage applies only to municipal
592 and national elections; within the village active political participation
666 is restricted to household heads functioning in the capacity of
representatives for their respective families. When the mayor of one
village was asked why all adults were not allowed to vote in village elections,
his quick reply was, "Is it democracy to give some families more
votes merely because they have more members?"

6. Political Leadership and Authority

621 There are nine important political offices within the village of
Kanegusuku (population 507)---mayor, assistant mayor, clerk, 4 councillors,
[592] and 2 'son' assemblymen. Eighteen of the 108 village families are headed
by women, and since only male household heads are elected to positions of
political leadership, there remain 90 men eligible for these offices. A
number of the young household heads also must be excluded from this group
since a man must be over twenty-seven to be eligible, and there are others
who are too old or infirm. This leaves 72 men eligible for office on the
basis of the formal requirements.

621 Actually the villagers apply several other qualifications which one
554 must possess in order to be eligible for office. In practice the repatriates
and the other newcomers to the village since the end of the war are
not elected. Those who are poor (less than enough land for mere subsistence)
cannot afford to accept an office, since the pay is low and the demands
on one's time are too great. The men who have non-agricultural jobs
which take them outside the village each day also do not have the time to
devote, and the villagers tend to feel that these men are out of touch with
the problems of a farming village. Lastly there are several men who otherwise
meet all qualifications for village office save for what the villagers
vaguely describe as "good character"; the most frequently cited example
for this group is a man who dislikes farming and spends much of his time
drinking or visiting the 'pachinko' parlor in a nearby town. Thus, the
total number qualified for political office on the basis of all criteria
which are applied is limited to approximately 47 individuals; this group,
which constitutes about 9% of the total population, supplies the village
leadership and forms the core of the body politic.

All village officials (excluding 'kumichō') held more land than the average, but the size of their holdings was not so great as to indicate that this was a very significant factor. It was stated that a leader must have sufficient experience and education to enable him to handle the necessary records and to make a good appearance at the village office. Most frequently, however, "good character" was cited as a most necessary prerequisite for an official; this was usually equated with "honest person" and "hard worker". Though the villagers stated that the age range of officials might lie between 28 and 55, the present village leaders are men in their forties. The man considered by a number of villagers to be their most able and influential political leader is forty-seven years old. In contrast the four 'kumichō' are young men ranging in age from 18 to 23, and only one of these is a household head. 621 554

Above the village level in the 'son' (township) government one encounters the professional administrator or bureaucrat----mayor, assistant, treasurer, and department heads. These men, in sharp contrast to the village officials, have an educational background including at least high school and more usually some college, normal school, or other type of advanced training. One gets the impression that they are strongly aware of their personal superiority; their attitude toward the governed is somewhat condescending and at best rather paternalistic. It is doubtful that they regard themselves as public servants although those whom the author encountered appeared to be conscientiously dedicated to their jobs. Of these officials only the mayor is elected; the others are appointed by him with the approval of the township assembly. 632 554

Most people are respectful toward their village officials, recognizing them to be among the ablest men in the community, but they most certainly are not in awe of them. Except for the two representatives to the 'son' assembly, new officials are elected every year, and it is very rare for a man to hold the same office for two consecutive years. No one person remains in a given office long enough to become identified with it or to achieve a special status. 621 554

The officials of the township office are usually professional government workers who have held their positions for a number of years. The villagers look up to them as administrators and superior persons; the mere fact that one has an official position confers a superior status. Some people expressed the belief that officials are good since only persons of education and good character could possibly attain such positions, and nearly all are of the opinion that officials enjoy an easy life and high pay. 632 554

Most rural villagers seem pessimistic about their relationship to the government; they are not mistrustful but rather they expect little. They strongly feel that the government is something from afar and wholly out of touch with their problems. This attitude may carry over from the old kingdom when an urban upper class administered a rural peasantry; the subsequent Japanese administration during its early years consisted of little more than the replacement of one ruling class with another. Nonetheless the government is looked to for aid and direction since it is 829

829 considered the initiator of all action. Frequently there are complaints of high taxes, criticisms of certain policies, and dissatisfaction with certain officials, but the authority of a government to undertake any course it chooses would never be challenged. There does not exist any concept of a limit to obedience or to the powers of government.

7. Social Control

626 621 The mechanisms of social control within an Okinawan village are not easily observed or studied since they are so rarely overt. One is impressed from the outset by the homogeneous character of the community, a natural outcome of the common experience and cultural heritage which all the members have shared. The average villager has had a limited range of contacts during the course of his or her lifetime, imposed to no small degree by the all-consuming demands of subsistence agriculture. Minorities within [183] the community rarely exist, and where they do, they are not recognized as such, for this homegeneity, in addition to being an actuality, is insisted upon as a cultural ideal. Consequently great stress is placed on presenting a united front to the outside. Within the community aggressive behavior is not tolerated and so great is the fear of rift through discord that few official acts are initiated without first securing informal concordance; consequently, formal political meetings are most often marked by unanimity and agreement. In enlisting the support of the villagers for a given project or proposed line of action leaders most frequently appeal to group solidarity, stressing the values of cooperation.

As is so often found in small communities where all the members have a face-to-face relationship, the chief mechanisms of social sanction are ridicule, censure, and the threat of ostracism. The small size and homogeneous nature of the Okinawan village limits the individual's behavior to a rather narrow and inflexible standard. The individual, however, must consider his actions not only in terms of the reactions of others to him [672] but also in terms of the consequences for his family. Under the old kingdom the family was legally responsible for the actions of its members, and [178] at the present time an individual is officially registered as a member of a certain family and is always thought of by the villagers in association 626 with that family. One's mistakes as well as one's achievements reflect upon 621 the other members of the family and are shared by them. This emphasis on 181 family and community over the individual serves markedly to curb individualism and to further the homogeneity of the society. Conformity and honoring one's obligations are the major cultural values. The surrogate for this strong cultural deemphasis of the individual is provided by a close ego identity with the family and community and by the security which they offer in return. The severest sanction which can be applied is expulsion of the individual from his group.

8. Local Autonomy

642 621 On a small island with a highly centralized government there is little room for local autonomy. Most action is initiated in the higher echelons of government and is unquestioningly obeyed at the lower levels. There

is no concept of a division of powers, and in final analysis the village is subject to the bidding of the township which in turn is under the direction of the central government. Nevertheless, the physical and mental isolation of the village from the township and central government does afford some measure of self-government, and a number of problems of specifically local concern are solved at the village level. 642 621

One finds that the villagers are not eager for a greater measure of self-government; in fact, quite the contrary seems true. In several villages the author was told that since the war the villages have been allowed a greater measure of self-rule and that they now have more to do with less aid and direction than ever before. They feel that this has resulted in greater demands on their time and finances than they can afford. 621 829

Village office is regarded as an onerous duty which one assumes in a sense of obligation. The remuneration is very low, and not a few are disinclined to participate in any active role. In December of 1953 there were three elections for village clerk in Kanegusuku before the office was filled; one of those elected stalked off in a fury and refused to return and accept the position. The mayor, who was much irritated by the man's action and the inconvenience it caused, assured the author that it was much better before the war when he had had the power to appoint someone and could not be refused.

586 property. After that action he was called by the villagers "white ant", or
159 "termite". From the beginning, community feeling was behind Yae and opposed
829 to him. Circumstances of her birth carried little stigma, but his actions outraged everyone. People thought it quite natural that she should live with another man and bear his child before Jirō formally recorded the divorce in the 'koseki'. As far as the villagers were concerned, the divorce had become effective when Jirō sold his inheritance.

161 3. A Note on the Accuracy of Population Statistics in Okinawa

Much conflicting population data were encountered by the SIRI team. Hence this note is included as being of possible value to military government and to other social scientists who may work in Okinawa at a later date.

Census Figures Year-end census figures, which are based upon de facto count rather than de jure count are the most accurate, since they include all persons actually resident in the village at the time, as well as 'museki', or persons without an official local 'koseki' record.

Many times these census figures are supplemented by figures reporting both the above and all persons visiting in the village or town at the date of census. These "visitors" may include students, peddlers, guests at inns, persons in institutions, and persons visiting friends or relatives. A few examples from the 1953 statistics report of GRI are given below:

Table XXVII

Political Unit	Koseki Population	Resident Population	De Facto Population
Okinawa Guntō	649,997	627,556	637,215
Shuri-shi	22,37[illegible]	21,921	23,015
Nago-chō	17,067	16,955	17,255
Goeku-son	21,065	20,931	20,749
Kochinda-son	8,738	8,504	-not given-

161
641 The Museki People 'Museki' is a term applied to single individuals or families who are not registered in the political unit where they are living. They may maintain with varying degrees of attention and accuracy a 'koseki' elsewhere. Some simply may have no registration in a 'koseki' anywhere due to a semi-wandering life or a criminal bent. These latter are said to have no legal rights. "How can anyone have rights unless he has a 'koseki'?"

161
621 Ad Hoc Counts Persons who wish an accurate count of the people in any village are advised to consult directly with the village headman, or 'kuchō', rather than with the 'son' office. He is in constant daily touch with village affairs, and is the most knowledgeable man to contact about village matters. Figures given by a 'kuchō', usually are the most accurate for total number of people in the village at any given time. 'Museki' persons are included, but those who are legally residents of the village and living elsewhere are not included.

CHAPTER VIII LAND TENURE

W. P. Lebra

423 During the lifetime of the oldest living generation of Okinawans
there have been operative two radically differing systems of land tenure---
178 at first a system of communal land ownership and later a system of private
ownership of land by families. At the present time a third system may be
said to be emerging---private ownership by individuals. Changes in the
systems of land tenure have been accompanied by significant changes in the
family, economy, and community. During the wartime and post-war periods
extensive land losses to military installations have severely disrupted the
livelihood of a number of communities, thus furthering the process of
change.

175 1. The Okinawan Kingdom and the Land Allotment System ('jiwari seido')

Prior to 1879 when Japan formally annexed the Ryukyus, Okinawa was
[642] a small semi-independent kingdom (it was a tribute-paying dependency of
the daimiate of Satsuma in Japan) controlling the southern Ryukyus. The
175 urban Naha-Shuri area served as the administrative and commercial center
565 for the kingdom, and nearly all of the upper classes, gentry and nobility,
were concentrated there. They formed a ruling class similar to that of
[423] China, functioning as a literati and administrative bureaucracy. Feudalism
had been abolished in the fifteenth century, and aside from a small percentage
of the nobility who were allowed to retain their hereditary fiefs,
the bulk of the upper classes subsisted on pensions granted by the ruler.
This group was very large and constituted approximately one-third of the
total population.

175 The farming population lived in a state of serfdom, being forbidden
[566] even to move from their native village or to change their hereditary occupation.
Farm villages were self-sustaining and physically isolated entities
[361] consisting of tightly-nucleated clusters of dwellings surrounded by fields.
[621] Each village was segmented into several lineages whose houses were generally
clustered together; these kin groups were related through the male line and
[613] shared a common ancestor, ritual observances, and often a local tomb for
[614] temporary burial. Each lineage was usually related to certain lineages of
other villages, thus forming a larger relationship or patri-sib which shared
a remote common ancestor, ritual observances, and a common tomb for permanent
burial. Usually the membership of this larger kinship group was con-
[582] centrated in the villages of a given district or area. Village endogamy
was an obligatory marriage practice, and kin group endogamy was a preferred
though not an obligatory practice.

178
423 Private ownership of land on Okinawa is a recent phenomenon, as
recent, in fact, as the beginning of the twentieth century. Under the old
175 kingdom communal ownership of the land obtained for all except a small seg-
423 ment of the upper classes. In theory all land was the property of the ruler,
[632] but in practice the district, or *majiri* (political unit roughly equivalent

to the modern 'son'), was the land-holding unit. The administration of the 175
majiri supervised the distribution of land to the villages or mura (political 423
unit equivalent to present-day 'ku') where it was divided among the [632]
various families. The amount of land allocated to a given family was dependent on its size, age and sex of members, and social position; consequently the houses of the nuru priestess and local officials received a proportionately larger allotment than the houses of ordinary farmers. The distribution of arable land under this system at the end of the nineteenth century was as follows: 67.1% farmers, 13% local lords, 8.3% nuru priestesses and local officials, 10.9% newly-cleared land.[1] The farmers worked the lands of all groups.

The origin of this communal land allotment system ('jiwari seidō') lies deep in Okinawa's past far beyond the beginning of its recorded history. Redistributions were made periodically to compensate for changes in household size and fertility of holdings. These reallotments occurred at from four to thirty year intervals at the option of the local (majiri) administration, with the average being about every tenth year. Certain lands were excluded from redistribution, particularly the lands of the local lords. Usually the lands of the so-called yădui settlements made up of the younger sons of gentry families were also excluded. Newly-cleared land was placed in a special category in order to encourage land development; ordinarily it was treated as the private property of the family that cleared it and was not subject to reallotment. Despite these exceptions nearly 75% of the arable land was subject to periodic redistribution.

175
Under this system the tax-bearing unit was the majiri, not the 423
family. Each majiri was headed by a jiturei, an appointed official from 651
Shuri, who functioned as an administrator, judge, and policeman; he was 632
held responsible for the tax payment of his district and was subject to
recall and punishment in the event of default. The state took no action
against the family or household which failed to pay its tax; such matters
were left to the jiturei and his assistants, who were free to deprive the
offending family of all its lands if they saw fit. When a house defaulted, [672]
its lineage was held accountable and forced to make up the deficit; if the [613]
lineage was unable to meet its obligations, the entire village (mura) had [621]
to assume the responsibility. A marked feature of the old village was a
number of granaries set aside for the community's annual tax levy.

Land valuations were permanently fixed in 1610 when the daimyo of 175
Satsuma had the region surveyed to determine the amount of tribute which 423
could be extracted. There was no reassessment until after the annexation, 651
although the overall tax levy was raised in 1635 and again in 1722. Only arable land was subject to taxation; no taxes were levied against house lots which were privately owned, nor against the forest and grass lands which were communal property. The tax levy for each majiri was based on the estimated productivity of its land at the time of the survey; it was a fixed tax and was never altered. It had been set so that in theory 40% of the yearly crop went to the government and 60% was to be retained by the

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[1] Higa, 1950, p. 64.

allotment system was now entered in the newly-created land registries as the 175
property of the household head. In the past inheritance of the position of 648
household head by the first son had been largely a matter of status succession 177
involving leadership of the family and certain ceremonial obligations.
Property succession had not been an important factor, for the private 423
property of the family had usually amounted to no more than the family
house and lot. Under the old land allotment system there was always land 177
available for younger sons who set up independent houses, but under Japanese 423
law the bulk of the family property was inherited by the first son. What had 428
been the function of the community in the past now became the responsibility 592
of the family, and since family holdings were usually small, the younger sons
were often landless. Informants stated that a father will usually do everything
possible to provide his younger sons with land, but he cannot do this
if it means jeopardizing the resources of the house. Continuation of the
family line for the purpose of continuity in worshipping the ancestors is
the chief responsibility incumbent on the household head, and in the rural
areas the land provides the major support for the house. With the rise in [166]
population there developed an increasing trend for younger sons to emigrate
from the rural areas in search of land or jobs elsewhere. The end result
was a considerable weakening of family and especially kin group ties and a [602]
rapid decline in the communal character of the rural villages. [621]

Though the creation of private property made possible the sale, purchase, 175
and rental of land, landlordism never gained a foothold on Okinawa. 423
Undoubtedly this is primarily due to the recency of private property and the 427
lack of time for large accumulations of land to be made. It is also in part
due to a lack of capital in the rural areas; most capital on Okinawa after [471]
the annexation and before World War II was confined to the hands of Japanese
businessmen and members of the former upper classes who seemed disinclined to
invest in land. Likewise the official Japanese attitude toward Okinawa was
to regard it as a rather backward part of Japan not to be exploited as a [648]
colonial dependency as in the case of Formosa and Korea. Glacken has suggested
that the heavy fragmentation of the typical Okinawan farm would be an [171]
obstacle to its sale; yet, the Chinese farmland is also highly fragmented
and landlordism has been common there for centuries.[1]

After the abolition of the communal allotment system taxes were extended 175
to cover all categories of land whereas previously they had been applied 423
only to arable land; however, government income from land taxes sharply 651
declined, as the moderate levies of the Japanese administration were considerably
below those of the Okinawan monarchy. Despite this reduction in [311]
tax load there has been a steady decline in the amount of land cultivated
since the termination of the old land system; this is clearly shown in Tables
III and IV in Chapter III, Agricultural History, Land Use and Diet.

3. World War II and the American Occupation

175
During World War II Okinawa became the scene of one of the most violent 727
battles of modern times. The entire island was turned into a combat

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[1] Glacken, 1951, p. 160.

4. A Comparison of Land Tenure in Two Rural Villages: Kanegusuku and Kitazato

621 Kanegusuku The village of Kanegusuku is located in the southwestern corner
[364] of Kanegusuku-son approximately three miles due south of
Naha on the west coast, and it is immediately north of the town of Itoman.
As is typical of the old Okinawan villages it is situated on high ground
with all of its houses facing in a southerly direction. Aside from a detached
cluster of eleven houses, the village houses are close together in
[121] a contiguous settlement. The village was selected for study because of its
infrequent contact with Americans, relative lack of war damage, and a reputed
antiquity and conservatism. As of December, 1953, the population was
507 persons forming 108 families occupying 103 houses. The present population
is said to be about the same as before the war despite a 20% loss of
life during the battle; this loss has been made up by repatriates from overseas
and immigrants from other areas of Okinawa. The repatriates and some
of the immigrants either had formerly resided in the village or regarded it
as their ancestral home. There are nine families who were native to some
other part of Okinawa before the war and have no previous connections with
the village. The majority of the families have been in this village for
[592] many generations. There are approximately five persons in each household,
which usually consists of a nuclear family, husband and wife and their
children; but the composition of a number of households has been changed
due to wartime losses.

Socially the village is segmented into eight lineages which constitute
[613] 92% of the total population; the remaining 8% is made up of unrelated
families new to the village since the end of the war. One lineage
includes nearly 61% of the village in its membership. Each of these lineages
is related to lineages in other villages. Approximately 66% of the village
[582] marriages have been within the village, and nearly 50% of the marriages
have been between persons of the same kin group. Thus, the composition of
the village is fairly homogeneous, and both the community and the kin groups
are strong cohesive units.

621 Occupation 98 of the 103 houses are engaged full time in farming;
463 the household heads of the five remaining houses are employed outside the
village in non-agricultural pursuits although all participate in some part-time
241 farming. In addition to these five there were approximately fifteen
young men, not household heads, who also worked outside. Most of these commuted
daily to the greater Naha area where they were engaged in military
employment or construction work. For the majority of villagers farming was
the sole occupation.

621 Arable Land Over 66% of the total area of this village is under
311 cultivation, and about 38% of the cultivated land is in irrigated fields.
[434] The chief sources of income derive from rice and mats made from a sedge
which is grown in an irrigated field. In terms of the average amount of
arable land per household Kanegusuku is somewhat better off than the average
[136] for Okinawa. 1514.2 'tsubo' for Kanegusuku as compared with 1037.6 'tsubo'
for Okinawa.

[Kanegusuku]

Non-cultivated land, however, is equally important to the average farm household in providing fuel, thatching, green manure, and many other necessities. 621 [311]

Land Holdings A breakdown of the 103 houses of Kanegusuku shows that 97 own land; 6 houses own no land of any type. Of the 103 houses, 56 rent land, and 6 of these rent all the land which they use. The remaining 50 own some land and rent some land. The figures are somewhat misleading, as included among the renters are those who rent only house lots; also included are some houses which have more than enough land for their own needs, but have rented plots contiguous to their main plots and in turn rent out their inaccessible plots to others. 621 423 427

In terms of total land per household 60% possess one or more acres of land which includes house lots, grass land, and forest in addition to cultivated fields. Nearly 73% of the village houses possess three-quarters of an acre or more of land which might arbitrarily be taken as the minimum necessary for mere existence, since farmers say that from 1000 to 2000 'tsubo' (1224 'tsubo' equal one acre) are needed for the average family. This leaves 27% of the village or exactly 28 houses with insufficient land for their needs. An investigation revealed that 13 of these 28 "have-not" houses were new to the village since the war. This group includes former residents of other Okinawan communities as well as repatriate families, of which 4 can be classed as having insufficient land. Three of these 28 houses without sufficient land were headed by widows, and two of these significantly were women who were not residents of the village, so that they were without close relatives in the village to help them. One person, the sole occupant of his house, was mentally unfit to take care of his lands and was helped by relatives. The remaining 11 of these 28 houses were headed by persons who were old residents of the village, but of these 9 were houses headed by younger sons who had established independent branch houses since the end of the war. Thus, out of a total of 28 landless and virtually landless houses, only two were headed by first sons who were native to the village. Although this group constitutes but 27% of the houses, it rents 51% of all the land rented by villagers. 621 423 [427]

Fields There are on the average 11 plots of land per household in Kanegusuku; of these 6 are cultivated fields while the remainder are in grass land, house lot, and forest or wood land. The average rice field is a little over a quarter of an acre in size, whereas the average dry field is about one-sixth of an acre in size. [311] [241]

Owners The land records list 160 landowners in Kanegusuku; 146 of these now reside in the village and 14 are listed as absent. Since there are but 103 houses in the village, a number of houses have more than one landowner. This is in part a result of the war, which broke up a number of families by deaths and also caused a severe housing shortage; consequently, there is some doubling up in a number of houses. Another factor is that in the land-rich houses (comparatively speaking) a father often has set aside some land for his younger sons and has entered this land in their names even though they are still quite young. [362]

[Kanegusuku]

621 Absentee Owners There are 14 former residents of the village who
423 still own land in it; their holdings amount to 5% of the total acreage.
Most of these have either rented their land to villagers or have loaned it
425 out to relatives; only a couple have allowed their holdings to remain idle.
[427] Absentee landlordism is definitely not a problem in Kanegusuku. Most who
leave the village to seek employment in the cities seem reluctant to sell
their land, and this does not appear to be because of any deep attachment
for the soil. They feel that land is a security against the loss of a job
or failure in the city; the land will always provide a subsistence. It is
also significant that they are most reluctant to part with their house lots,
[169] especially old family sites. The house lot in such cases is regarded as an
important tie to the ancestors of the family, and since the dead can influence the fortunes of the living, it is feared that misfortune may follow the sale of a house lot, particularly to a person who is not a close relative. In most of the now unoccupied house lots of Kanegusuku one can find a small site for prayer (uganju) marked by a small censer and bits of incense. Periodically certain of the older members (usually female) of the family return to pay their respects to the ancestors at these spots. One gets the impression that this is done not so much in the spirit of venerating as in the spirit of propitiating.

425 Land Transactions Since the land registries were established again
427 in 1950 there has been a sizable turnover in land holdings. From the last
quarter of 1950 through the first quarter of 1954 59 plots have been sold and 154 plots have been rented out. As registrations usually lag far behind transactions, the above figures are undoubtedly too low, and this is especially true of the rentals.

427 Land Rentals Land rentals vary widely depending on the type of land, location, quality, and the relationship between owner and tenant. As a general rule payments are made in cash for house lots, grass land, and forest. If the owner and tenant are close relatives a lower rental will be charged, or in the case of house lots most likely no charge will be made at all. For rice fields the rent is always a percentage of the crop; this too will vary depending on the factors previously mentioned, though sometimes it will run as high as from thirty to forty percent of the yield. Dry fields are paid for in cash or produce depending on the crop and the arrangement; usually items that store well such as beans are acceptable as rent. In all cases, it must be stressed, much depends on the owner-tenant relationship; the land records show many instances of brother renting from brother. In most of these cases, according to informants, a lower rental or sometimes none at all is charged, especially if the one brother is considerably more prosperous than the other. Often persons who seek temporary employment elsewhere will lend their lands to close relatives during their absence rather than rent it out for a short term.

The terms "owner" and "renter" seem virtually meaningless unless referred to in context. For example, most widows have been forced to rent out their rice land, as its maintenance is considered too difficult for a woman. Likewise a number of children orphaned by the war are too young to work their holdings, and these are rented out or worked for them by relatives. At the

time of the author's stay in the village there was no individual or family 427
which could be classified as rentier.

Changes Effected by the War War-caused changes in the distribution 621
of land holdings among the various households were considerable. Many 423
of the land-rich houses, if such a term may be used where the "richest" has 177
but eleven acres, are such today because of the war, and conversely some
houses have become impoverished or had their resources severely strained because 727
of it. Unlike many other communities Kanegusuku was fortunate in that
only about 4% of its total land area was permanently ruined as a result of
the war. Some land was lost to a road, but most of the loss was due to a
small military camp (about company size) now converted into a tuberculosis
sanatorium. Since land holdings are usually fragmented and scattered, no
one family lost all its land, though one family lost nearly one-half and
several approximately one quarter. The loss to the sanatorium is not compensated [186]
for by jobs for Kanegusuku people since no villager is employed
there. This is explained by the fact that the director is from Itoman; so
"naturally" he could not be expected to hire Kanegusuku people.

621
The composition of the household has changed in many homes since 592
the war as a result of the large number of deaths. Today a number of households 177
consist of the usual nuclear family of husband, wife, and their offspring 727
plus a related "broken" family such as widowed sister and her children
or widower brother and his children or parent and unmarried siblings. In
most cases the holdings of both families are pooled and the household functions
as a single economic unit, though separate purses are sometimes maintained.
There are several old people who live alone in their houses, but
they are usually watched over by near relatives.

The richest landowner (eleven acres) in the village today was a 621
second son in very moderate circumstances before the war. As a second son 556
he was given by his parents to childless relatives for adoption. During 727
the war his adoptive parents died, leaving him their entire estate. The
war also caused the death of his real father and elder brother, leaving him
the sole heir to their property. He has since married a woman who as the
surviving member of her family is heiress to its property. Consequently,
this house now holds the land of three families. The villagers are somewhat [769]
envious, but they say that misfortunte may result since this house now must
make the ritual observances to the ancestors of three families, which is
felt to be too great a task for anyone, and inadequate attention may lead to
calamity.

621
The women who were widowed by the war and who have chosen to maintain 589
separate households have had in most cases a difficult time of it, 727
and particularly those widows without grown sons have been hard pressed.
Farming an irrigated field is said to be impossible for a woman alone;
therefore, most of them have had to rent out their rice lands, thereby losing [462]
much of its return. It is also very difficult for a house which contains [427]
only women to participate in reciprocal labor exchanges, since two [476]
days of labor by a woman are equated to one day of labor by a man.

[Kanegusuku]

621 423 727 The group most dissatisfied with its lot today are the repatriates from the former Japanese possessions. A few of these families were able upon return to take up the lands left by relatives killed in the war or were given land by prosperous relatives, and four repatriate families are virtually landless. All of them, regardless of the size of their present holdings, chafe at their circumstances. One repatriate told the author that he had farmed nearly twenty-five acres in a single plot of sugar on Saipan and that he could never be satisfied with Kanegusuku after this. He is hoping that he will eventually be permitted to return to Saipan.

Before the war that segment of the village which possessed the least amount of land consisted almost exclusively of younger sons who had established branch families. Today this group has been augmented by repatriates from the former Japanese possessions and by emigrants from other Okinawan communities.

621 241 [463] Farm Laborers During the course of the author's stay in Kanegusuku there was only one full-time farm laborer in the village. This man came from one of the southern islands in the Ryukyus and was employed for less than a month. After his discharge, the former employer remarked that no outsider has enough interest in the lands of another family to make his employment worthwhile. [857] Transplanting and harvesting rice place the heaviest labor demands upon the family; at these times virtually every member of the family [476] works in the fields; even the grade-school children are given minor tasks, and the family labor force is supplemented by close relatives or neighbors in a reciprocal labor exchange.

829 554 463 241 Attitudes toward the Land One does not hear or see evidence of any great love or attachment for the soil on the part of the Okinawan farmer. In fact, quite the contrary seems true. Most regard their occupation as a lowly one and feel that they are farmers because they know no other occupation. Land is of value because it provides a livelihood, nothing more, though some exception might be made for house land. Nearly all of the younger generation reflect the thinking of their fathers, and they are eager to get a good education (the diligence of even the average Okinawan student would strike the American teacher as amazing), secure a job in the town or city, and leave the drudgery of the farm village forever. [433] Most farms are so small that they provide no more than mere subsistence for their cultivators; consequently, the young men see no sense in attending agricultural school when they will have little more than an acre to work. One young man from a fairly prosperous family in the village recently secured a job as a stevedore in Naha, and both he and his wife expressed their pleasure over what they regard as a definite improvement in their status. Though they have not sold the land which they own, they hope that it will never be necessary to return and farm it.

[178] To a large extent this attitude toward the land and farming as an occupation is directly related to the economic and cultural changes taking place on Okinawa today; the city is an exciting place to live in and employment there is economically more advantageous than farming. Nevertheless, this seems in part the product of the old land system and the low, serf-like status accorded farmers under it. Some of the earlier visitors and officials

[Kanegusuku]
[Kitazato]

on Okinawa observed that the farmer took little interest in the care of land 241
which he did not regard as his own. The author was particularly impressed 829
by the contrast between Japan and Okinawa in regard to the care of land, 554
for the meticulous care which the Japanese farmer lavishes on his land seems 463
absent by contrast among the Okinawan farmers. [171]

Kitazato The farm village of Kitazato in Kami Motobu-son presents a 621
marked contrast to Kanegusuku in that it has suffered the loss
of a major part of its area to a military installation. In studying the [727]
village of Kitazato the village of Kanegusuku was used as a base line for 121
comparisons. To supplement his own observations the author has drawn heavily 621
on actual statements by Kitazato people; in this way he hopes to present as [124]
accurately as possible the actual state of the village compared to villages
elsewhere on Okinawa, and the villagers' own conceptualization of their
circumstances.

Kitazato is not an old village, having been founded but seven generations 175
ago by the younger sons of gentry families from the Naha-Shuri area. 621
It was politically independent of the neighboring villages during the time
of the old kingdom, but after the annexation it was administered in part by
the villages of Gushiken and Jahana. In 1936 or 1937 it was established as
an independent village, taking its present name.

Following their release from civilian internment camps the villagers 175
returned to the site of their old homes shortly before New Year's of 621
1946. They found virtually their entire village land area converted into 727
an airfield and accompanying military installations. According to their
account there was considerable misunderstanding between them and the military
as to where they might live, and they feel that they were subject to
contradictory and inconsistent orders. Several moves were made which disrupted
their plans to settle, and one villager stated, "I grew tired of
rebuilding my house." In 1948 they were finally ordered to remove themselves
from the military area, and they took up residence in their present location.
It is claimed that there was insufficient land in the area to resettle the
entire village on a single site; so, the village divided into three sections.
Thirty houses were located on the beach between the villages of Gushiken and
Shinzato, and this segment was given the name Hama. The remainder of the
houses settled in the nearby hills from one to two miles away. Thirty-nine
houses settled in the hills between the villages of Furushima and Jahana,
taking the name Kijikina. Ten houses located themselves in the hills just
north of Kijikina in a settlement which they called Anahana. These latter
two, however, function as a single settlement for administrative purposes.
These 80 houses making up the scattered village of Kitazato have a total
population of 414. Despite their physical separation these segments have
striven with considerable difficulty to maintain their political and social
unity; one mayor and council serves them, and people are constantly visiting
from one area to another. Today most of their land is gone, and they are [464]
too far removed from any city, town, or military installation (the airfield
is abandoned) for employment. Extreme poverty and bitterness are one's first [735]
impressions of the village.

[Kitazato]

175 It is said that the division of the village cut across family
621 lines and that the motivating factor in a household's choice of one site
727 over another was the location of their remaining landholdings on the
periphery of the village. Another factor was the presence of relatives
in neighboring villages from whom they might secure land for rental. Thus,
Kijikina is largely made up of households which have their lands on that
side of the field or have relatives in neighboring Furushima; the Hama
people mostly own the land at the north side of the field.

175 The Pre-war Village Prior to the war the village was, according
621 to 'son' officials, a very prosperous community and a great economic asset
to the 'son'. It possessed nearly 173 acres in arable land, most of which
[249] was flat or gently rolling. The soil was well suited to sugar cane which
[434] was the chief source of income for the village; cattle-raising for export
[233] to Japan provided an additional source of income.
[439]

Unlike Kanegusuku the lineages were said to be rather weak in Kitazato;
there were a number of different kin groups, and no one of these was
[361] dominant. The houses of the village were not tightly nucleated like those
of the typical Okinawan village but were scattered about in a loose grouping
in the midst of the best agricultural land.

621 Land Loss At the present time (May, 1954) approximately 39% of
311 the total land area of this village is in airfield, and an additional 34%
727 of the total area has been ruined by activities related to its construction
(sand dumped onto fields, top soil removed, erosion, etc.). There remains
but 27% of the total land area for the use of the villagers, and of this only
a small percentage is in arable land, since most of the good, flat farmland
was lost to the airfield. The total amount of arable land remaining is
[134] 11,895 'tsubo' (less than ten acres), and this averages out to about 148
'tsubo' or 0.12 acres per household, with approximately five persons in each
house. The average amounts of arable land per household in Kanegusuku,
Okinawa, and Kitazato compare as follows:

Kanegusuku --- 1514.2 'tsubo'
Okinawa --- 1037.2 'tsubo' (per farm household)
Kitazato --- 148.7 'tsubo'

Land loss to the airfield affected every family in the village; some families lost all of their lands, a very few managed to retain most, but the majority of villagers (70%) lost nearly all of their holdings. For example, the mayor of the village held 2470 'tsubo' before the war and now has 570 'tsubo' left; yet, he is considered one of the more fortunate. To compensate for their losses they now farm some land which was previously left idle: "We would not have farmed such land before the war as we are farming today." Some have rented lands from neighboring villages, and a few have been given land by relatives in these villages.

621 Land Payment The people of Kitazato strongly feel that they are
829 not being paid adequate remuneration in terms of current rental values for
727 their land. They are well aware of the fact that the same U. S. military

is paying adequate rentals for lands used in Japan, and it is their conten- 621
tion that Okinawa is being discriminated against because she is weak. Be- 829
cause of this some wish that Japan were back in control, believing that 727
their interests would be better served. One hears no comments on the presence of Americans in the islands or on the legality of building bases there, for they concede that the outcome of the war granted that; yet, they are bitter about the loss of their livelihood and what they feel to be neglect on the part of the military government. Long accustomed to a paternalistic government which directed many aspects of their lives, they are now at a loss to understand this seeming indifference to their present circumstances. They are completely unmoved by argument, which might seem logical to an American, that Congress has not appropriated sufficient funds, for they do not distinguish between the various divisions of American government---it is all American to them. They point to the high standard of living enjoyed by the American personnel and their families stationed on the island and make the inference that there seems to be no lack of funds for their needs.

The villagers say that they have received three payments from military government through May, 1954. The first of these paid for the cost of removing and rebuilding their homes. This amounted to a flat payment of ¥6000 ($50) per house, which they say was inadequate. The first of the land payments was made in June of 1953; the villagers assert that they were paid at pre-war rates, and one person who owned 5480 'tsubo' described the payment as a "laugh". The second payment for the use of their lands was made in May, 1954, while the author was studying the village. This time the payments were said to be substantially higher especially in certain categories; yet, they contend that payments are still far below current rentals. In this payment, ¥5.40 per 'tsubo' per year was paid for grade one house lots, but in Kijikina the owner of one house claimed that he paid ¥24 per 'tsubo' per year for rental on his house lot. Grade one dry fields were paid for by the military government at a rate of ¥3 per 'tsubo' per year; the farmers say that they can get about ¥60 per 'tsubo' in annual yield if this land is planted in beans or potatoes, and local rentals on this same type of land are about ¥15. They are angry at receiving but ¥3 for their land and having to pay ¥15 to rent equivalent land. They are also dissatisfied with the manner of payment for grass land and tomb land which are paid for by the plot regardless of size; thus, they say that the person who has two small plots of 10 'tsubo' each receives twice as much as the man who owns a single, larger 100 'tsubo' plot.

Effect of the Land Loss on the Village: Physical Appearance On 621
first entering any one of the three segments of Kitazato one is struck al- 735
most immediately by a level of poverty considerably below that of other Oki- 511
nawan villages. This is particularly true of Hama, whose houses are jammed
tightly together on a treeless beach. Most of the houses consist of a [342]
single room which serves as living and sleeping quarters; a small lean-to kitchen is attached on the side. The floor space of the houses was con-
siderably smaller than those of Kanegusuku. Several brackish wells supply [312]
the community with water. The Anahana and Kijikina settlements in the
hills have a more attractive appearance due to a large number of young pine [342]
trees and a small stream in the area, giving a park-like atmosphere; however,

511 [Kitazato]
621 the houses are the same small, poorly-built structures of thatch and scrap
735 lumber that are found on the beach. By way of contrast, the house which
[342] the author rented in Kanegusuku was the poorest and shabbiest in that vil-
[184] lage; yet, the same house in Kitazato would easily have been the best.
Shabby appearances are not limited to houses, for the people too are more poorly dressed than elsewhere on Okinawa.

621 Food Nearly everywhere on Okinawa the authors heard that the peo-
511 ple are eating better today than before the war; such is not the case for
262 Kitazato, and the villagers are most emphatic about this. Potatoes, beans,
and other vegetable products form the mainstay of their diet; often times, they say, potatoes are dug up before they are fully mature, so great is the pressure for food. It is the opinion of the local agricultural office that the people are slowly starving to death, and the villagers state that they are always hungry. The local storekeepers say that the people do not have enough money to buy canned foods to supplement their diet. Though Hama is
[226] virtually on the water the villagers do no fishing since the occupation is
regarded as a foreign one; however, some shell fish are collected by the women.

621 Exodus of Youth One of the marked features of the village is the
511 general absence of young men and women in the fifteen to twenty-five age
166 group, for as soon as the student completes junior high school, he or she
heads for the city seeking employment. A number of the families in the village are said to subsist mainly on the money which their children send back. According to the mayor 61 families have left the village since the end of the war; he feels that if they had not left, things would be much worse. Most of those who left were families containing grown children who could work; the parents in some cases were reluctant to leave, but their children were anxious to leave. A slight decline in military employment in early 1954 resulted in several of these families' returning to the village, and the mayor was apprehensive lest more return.

621 One characteristic of the population of this village which struck
847 the author was the disproportionate number of females to males in the age
group under five years. In this group there were 64 males and 33 females, whereas the groups above were more nearly proportionate. Female infanticide has been a common occurrence during times of famine or under conditions of extreme poverty in Japan and China, and the authors heard several stories giving some evidence of it on Okinawa. No factual evidence of any sort was gathered by the author in Kitazato to corroborate this interpretation of the statistics; however, the fact that the permanent resettlement of the village in its present locations took place approximately six years ago in 1948 may lend some credence to this interpretation.

621 Attitude toward Americans The villagers' initial reaction to the
829 presence of the author in the village was one of fear and veiled hostility.
Gradually this was overcome, and good rapport was established. During one
[123] of his last visits to the community the author was told, "The first day you
were in the village everyone wondered if the military were going to make us move again. No one slept that night." At the same time the villagers are

somewhat appalled by what they regard as a lack of concern on the part of 621 829
Americans for their plight. As they have been long accustomed to a pater-
nalistic government, this seems to be a deliberately negligent attitude, and
they express this feeling not infrequently. The following statements were
heard by the author, "We never see any Americans who come to inspect or
look at things" and "No Americans ever come to see how we are."

National Organizations National organizations such as the youth 621
association and the women's association are rather weak in Kitazato when 575
compared with Kanegusuku. They say that they have little spare time for
such organizations, which is undoubtedly true, and the scattered nature of
the village makes meeting a chore for some in the outlying sections. The
ranks of the youth association are thinned by the loss of members who have 621
sought employment in the city or military camps. Even the agricultural as- 829
sociation is not as active as elsewhere, since the farmers feel that little 242
can be done to improve their situation. The farmers and the head of the 241
'son' agricultural office were disgusted by the stupidity of a plan tendered
by the central agricultural office to relieve the distress of Kitazato and
other dispossessed farmers in Kami Motobu-son. This plan called for the
planting of sugar cane as a cash crop and the use of the proceeds to buy
food. It failed to take into consideration that sugar takes a long time to
mature and that the people would have nothing to eat in the interim, and
even if they were to plant their entire holdings in sugar, it would not
bring enough cash to feed them.

Village Solidarity Village solidarity seems very high in Kitazato, 621
much higher than in Kanegusuku. Undoubtedly this is largely due to the com- 186
mon problem which faces them all; nevertheless several other factors appear
to be involved. The gentry origin of Kitazato kept it aloof from its im-
mediate neighbors for many years, and apparently no real contacts were es-
tablished in neighboring villages until after the annexation. Even today [197]
the people of this village speak a dialect markedly distinct from that of
their nearest neighbors; thus, the upper-class origin and the physical and
linguistic isolation of the village has perhaps contributed much to its in-
tegration and solidarity. The relative weakness of kin groupings seems to
be another factor. In Kanegusuku one gets the impression that the strength
of the lineages mitigates against informal village-wide cooperation and only
through formal organizations such as the youth association is any real
village-wide cooperation realized. In Kitazato the weak kin groupings seem
no obstacle to this.

It seemed to the author that the people of Kitazato never tired of reiterating how well they cooperated together and how much they enjoyed working together as a village. "We want to stay together as a village, as we cooperate so well together." This is typical of the statements which were made. Many say that they would not object to emigration provided they might emigrate as a village.

Land Rentals Two serious problems face the people of Kitazato in 621
regard to renting the land of neighboring villages. They are unable to pay 427

621 427 for the lands which they rent, since they have no cash; and they feel that the amount of rent in product from their low yield soils is too great to justify the expenditure of labor. Several other villages in the area lost land to the airfield, so that there is very little land available for rental today. The land which they have rented is of a poor quality, and, consequently, yields are very low. A few fortunate ones have had relatives in neighboring villages who have supplied them with land at a low rental; several who have brothers in neighboring villages have been given free use of some lands. These, however, constitute a small portion of the total village.

628 Neighboring villagers who were interviewed expressed their sympathy for Kitazato's loss of its livelihood. They state that relations between them are good.

621 829 Morale The villagers are in a low state of morale, and they frequently express the opinion that their situation is hopeless. The young people see no future in remaining in the village and are anxious to leave as soon as they are able. Older adults cannot conceive of leaving the village; yet, they are depressed by their circumstances. A number of the middle-aged men remarked that it was too late for them to learn another occupation even if they could get away. The older people particularly mourn the loss of their village: "Our village was beautiful, and we loved it," and "Our land is hopeless now; we cry in our minds just to look at it." All age groups were heard to express statements such as, "Each year things are worse," and "We are slowly starving to death." One informant told the author that he believed someone had been stealing potatoes from his field.

The head of the local agricultural office believes that the village should be brought together again as a single community on the site of the old village near the airfield and that they should be given permission to farm the unused land contiguous to the field. In this way, he feels, they might be able to pull themselves together and start rebuilding anew. He is worried that the people will become so demoralized by their present state as to become slothful, and he is of the opinion that the people cannot continue much longer in their present state.

Outlook for the Future The people of Kitazato are uneasy and pessimistic about their future, and the local 'son' officials, political and agricultural, feel that the villagers cannot long continue in their state of poverty and borderline starvation. 621 It seems to the author that the future holds but three possibilities for them---continued endurance of their present situation, emigration, or an increase in the rent paid for the use of their land.

Without an improvement in their present circumstances, ultimate starvation would seem the only possibility; 433 the figures on land holdings alone will validate that, for ten acres will not provide subsistence for over four hundred no matter how intensive the agricultural techniques. There does not appear sufficient land available for rental with which they might supplement their meager holdings. Many villagers are too poor to cut loose from the wretched plots they farm; it takes cash to move and set up

621 elsewhere, and this they do not have. Others are too timid or feel themselves untrained and incapable of learning a new job elsewhere. This is especially true of the middle-aged men who are supporting aged parents and/or young children; to cut loose from the village and leave his land seems too great a risk for one who has the burden of family support, little education, and no training for any other pursuit. At least in his village, he feels, there are friends, relatives, and others like him sharing common problems. Likewise, seeking employment as an agricultural laborer in other communities would bring in little return; such work is usually taken by young, unmarried men men who have not yet established themselves. Perhaps with government loans and encouragement most of the families might be resettled in other Okinawan farming villages, but there is strong resistance toward any suggestions or moves which would lead to a breakup and scattering of the village. It should be emphasized, however, that this is the feeling of those members of the village who are above 35 to 40 years of age and who have family responsibilities. The young do not share this sentiment for village solidarity, and they are most eager to leave the village once their schooling is completed. A few who have succeeded in establishing themselves in the city have sent for their parents or have regularly sent money to them, but often the rewards of city or military employment are not sufficient to permit this, or they marry and have the problems of their immediate family to think about.

621 829 The strong desire to remain together as a village is expressed whenever the question of emigration is raised. For example, about four or five young men in the village have expressed a willingness to emigrate to South America. Several South American countries have sought Okinawan settlers; however, they want young people capable of making a contribution to the economy; oldsters are not sought. In most cases this means a breakup of the family, leaving the older people behind on Okinawa until the emigrants have saved sufficient money to send for them. In most cases they would be without support in the absence of the children. Those who have expressed an interest in emigrating as individuals have been subject to some criticism; however, the villagers would be willing to emigrate to South America provided they were allowed to emigrate as a village. In fact, the majority of villagers appear willing to emigrate to South America, the South Seas, or even to Yaeyama in that order of preference. The latter island, despite numerous press campaigns extolling its virtues, holds little appeal for Okinawans. It is considered a dangerous place subject to many typhoons and diseases, and the Japanese government tried for many years to encourage Okinawan settlement there with little more success than that achieved by the military government. The people of Kitazato, however, say that they would resettle in Yaeyama provided the government helped them and allowed them to resettle as a village; or they would not be averse to resettlement elsewhere on Okinawa under the same conditions. In all cases it is their strongest desire to remain together as a village and to be given aid in reestablishing themselves.

Lastly they would prefer most of all that they be paid adequate rentals in term of current land rentals for their land which has been used for the airfield. Adequate rentals would enable each family to determine the course of its own future without any interference from the government.

[Kitazato]

621 If this were done, many villagers state that they would prefer to remain in
829 the area. They would try to rent more land from neighboring villages, and they would be looking forward to the day when they might start life anew on the old village site. The younger generation does not share this nostalgia and this desire to recreate the old village; they feel that adequate rentals would provide the means for establishing themselves elsewhere. In time, one suspects, the older people would follow them.

The mental isolation of the farm village gradually decreased under a national system of education, but the process did not end with schooling. Upon graduating, the youth, male and female, were enrolled in a national young people's association. Later the young men were drafted for service in the national army, and following discharge the veteran was enlisted in a local reserve association which met frequently for military and social purposes. When a man married, established a separate house, and began farming, membership in the farmer's association was automatically conferred. His wife upon marriage transferred from the young women's association to the women's association. There were, in fact, a variety of national organizations covering the various phases and roles of the individual's life; membership was never a matter of choice, but a thing automatically conferred. A stress on patriotism was a strong concomitant in all of these. Membership gave to the individual a sense of participating in a national society extending far beyond the limits of his small village.

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It should be stressed that most Okinawans regard the Japanese as providers of modern, enlightened government. The Japanese administration abolished the old class divisions and freed the peasant from his serf-like status. Taxes on arable land were substantially reduced, and the villager for the first time was given some voice in government above the village level. Modern law courts were introduced and justice was administered impartially, not on a class basis as was formerly done.

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Inadvertently, perhaps, official Japanese policy did much to destroy the self-sufficiency of the farm village. Prior to the land reform, sugar production did not exceed local needs, but government encouragement and subsidy so increased production that by the time of World War II it exceeded consumption by 900%. This resulted in a food shortage which necessitated heavy importations of basic cereals to compensate.

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Japanese manufactured goods also contributed to the decline in self-sufficiency. Factory-made cloth gradually displaced home-woven fabrics, and accordingly cotton and fiber banana were no longer raised. The tools, utensils, and machines of the factory slowly replaced the simpler devices used in the village.

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Abolition of the system of communal land tenure contributed to a weakening of the family and particularly of the large extended kin group. The introduction of private property and Japanese laws of inheritance served to create a landless element which often emigrated from Okinawa in search of land or jobs elsewhere. Where formerly the kin group had clustered in certain localities, they now became dispersed over great areas, making continued interaction difficult and often impossible.

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Sixty-six years of Japanese rule resulted in a fairly successful amalgamation of Okinawa into the Japanese state; though the Okinawan language and culture were not destroyed, they were severely altered.

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Impact of World War II and the American Occupation The war destroyed virtually all of rural and urban Okinawa, and resulted in the death of twenty percent of the population.

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Military installations have attracted people from all areas, and at 178 177
the present time over twenty-five percent of the total labor force is employed 727
by the military or in subsidiary occupations. Some of these people are drawn [464]
from the landless element which formerly would have emigrated. In other areas
land has been left idle by those who have sought salaried jobs in preference
to farming. In places, extensive military land use has greatly increased [311]
land pressure. The circulation of money has been accelerated, and new patterns [491]
of living have evolved. Many miles of all-weather roads have been constructed
and the island transportation system has improved to a point where
villagers have a mobility undreamed of in the prewar era.

The major forces for change have been technological and economic. 177
Where changes have occurred in the social system, they have come about largely 178
as a result of these factors. Man has always tended to accept new things
faster than new ideas, but in final analysis these will alter ideas too. It
has been said that the streetcar and trains have contributed more to the
breakdown of the idea of caste in India than any other single factor; so too
on Okinawa, the changes effected by a new technology, greater circulation of
money, and improved mobility operate to alter the fabric of life. Most rural 177
Okinawans would be decidedly opposed to any overt action designed toward 369
weakening the unity of their village; yet, when they put aside farming to 621
commute daily to a city job, avail themselves of the newspapers, movies, and 178
radio programs emanating from the city, and no longer participate in labor
exchanges and other cooperative ventures, it is to precisely this end that
they are contributing.

It is the opinion of the author that the major forces for change in 177
contemporary Okinawa were already operative before the war. The real impact 178
of the American occupation has been a rapid acceleration of the forces of
change which have been slowly building up since the beginning of the century.

Aspects of Change in Rural Okinawa: Transportation

One of the most impressive changes in 178 491
post-war Okinawa with far-reaching cultural implications has been the improved
transportation system which has made possible a greater mobility. A
network of modern highways now girdle the land where formerly narrow dirt
roads and paths had sufficed. To one who had last seen the island in 1945
the contrast in 1954 was most remarkable.

The increase in motor vehicles has been more than ten-fold over the 178
prewar period. Most villages now have easy access to bus lines which connect [494]
to virtually all points of the island. Where formerly villagers but rarely [484]
went to town, they now make such trips frequently. It is not uncommon in the
Shimajiri and Nakagami areas of the island for an individual to commute each
day from his village to his place of employment in a military camp, town, or
city.

The improvement in transportation has enabled the farmers to bring 178
products to the best markets. Formerly most Kanegusuku products were sold 443
in nearby Itoman, but today with the advent of rapid bus service to Naha
many items are taken there for sale.

households. Noodles are another item of regular purchase. Starch and bean 178
paste are typical items which formerly were always made in the home but now 262
may be purchased instead.

In sum Okinawan diet has improved in quantity and variety. Food tastes are more catholic today; certain foreign foods are greatly appreciated. There is a greater reliance on manufactured and processed foods, and greater cash expenditures are made for food.

Entertainment and Leisure There has been a marked decline in village 527
celebrations and festivals in which all residents participate. Formerly
O Bon, New Year's, and harvesting time were occasions for village-wide cele- 796
brations; today these are gone from most communities; celebrations are res- 178
tricted to the family and friends. Most of the village celebrations were 621
basically religious in nature and with the decline of the old religion these
celebrations have been dropped.

Parties to mark an individual's change of status were formerly held 527
on the 13th, 25th, 37th, 48th, 61st, 73rd, 85th, 88th and 97th birthdays, but 178
today only those for the old people are observed. Frequently a party is held
to mark an individual's success in the competitive examination to enter high
school, but aside from that, rites of passage for the young and middle-aged
are no longer observed.

The Japanese introduced one form of entertainment which has achieved 526
immense popularity; this is a sporting event sponsored by the school. These 177
are usually held on Sunday during the fall of the year, and usually the whole
school participates. There is intra-school competition and later inter-school;
intense interest is generated and often this becomes an important topic for
conversation among the young men.

Local units of the national organizations such as the youths' associa- 575
tion and the women's association frequently hold parties for their members.
In fact these organizations are mainly of a social nature.

As noted above, prior to the war there were five motion picture 546
theaters on Okinawa; today there are fifty-seven. American and European films 177
constitute from one quarter to one third of the total shown. Though most of
these theaters are located in the cities and towns, the young people of the
nearby farming villages make frequent use of them. The popularity of the
American "Western" among the young people has caused some to attribute juvenile
delinquency to this, although the relatively more bloody Japanese sword-
fighting pictures ('chambara') are considered harmless.

The popularity of Okinawan dancing and music seems undiminished. 533
Radio broadcasts of Okinawan music are much enjoyed; and virtually every party 535
provides the opportunity for music and dancing in which most of the guests 177
participate. A few of the better-educated young people profess an apprecia-
tion of Western classical music and jazz, but most of them prefer Japanese and
American love ballads though they still remain very fond of the Okinawan music.

52 The general characteristics of the changed entertainment patterns
178 have been a greater reliance on entertainment provided by sources outside
621 the village---the school, radio, movies---and a sharp decline in celebrations
and festivals of the sort which emphasized village participation and unity.

757 Health and Medicine Changes in medical practice well illustrate the
753 principle that material things find more ready acceptance than ideas in the
177 diffusion of culture; in short, Okinawans have been willing to adopt modern
medicine when available, but not modern medical principles. Pills, shots, surgery, dentistry, penicillin, and DDT have found acceptance, while modern scientific concepts of disease, health, and sanitation seem to have made relatively little headway. The germ theory, for example, has barely penetrated.

753 However, on talking to people of different ages one becomes aware
751 that many changes in standards of sanitation and ideas about health and disease
177 actually have taken place in the last fifty years. For example, evidence
of the practice of tattooing various parts of the body as a cure for certain ills is rarely seen on persons under seventy. Similarly, though many of the younger generation may appear abysmally ignorant of modern knowledge of disease, they are always less ignorant and better informed than the preceding generation. Considerable progress toward better sanitation was made under the
[364] Japanese. Formerly the Okinawan privy was built atop the pigpen, and the pig
[231] subsisted in part on human feces. Stern measures were required to force the abandonment of this practice. The Japanese also introduced monthly sanitation inspections; inoculations for babies and school children were made compulsory.
[515] Through the influence of the schools the toothbrush (usually one) became a part of every home. The Japanese also sent notable scholars into the country-
[582] side to lecture the people on the dangers of in-breeding practices, particularly kin-group endogamy.

757 Penicillin, which was introduced by the Americans, has become a pop-
177 ular treatment, achieving equality with moxacautery and cutting to let blood.
It can be obtained easily at any drug shop, and every doctor, midwife, herbalist, and practitioner of any sort is prepared to administer shots. Reliance excessive even by American standards is placed on this drug. There seems, in fact, to be a fondness for shots which does not end with penicillin; hormone shots and various other injections are widely advertised. It is the opinion of the author that any type of modern medicine which cuts, punctures, or otherwise disfigures the skin will find ready acceptance; this, it is felt, is merely an extension of the tradition of acupuncture, moxacautery, tattooing, and cutting. Bettelheim states that in the 1850's the Okinawans made inquiries as to how inoculations for smallpox might be obtained.[1]

759 There is some indication that the yabu, a practitioner whose chief
178 stocks-in-trade are herbs and moxacautery, is slowly disappearing; in several
communities the author was told that since the old yabu died there had been no replacement.

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[1] Bettelheim, B. J., Loochoo Mission, London, n.d., pp. 34-36.

434 salaried employees has greatly increased the amount of money in circulation. 178 The large expenditures made by members of the military forces have also con- 464 tributed significantly. The farmer, in turn, has been able to realize a larger return for his products than was formerly possible, and in many farm villages a sizable number of individuals are engaged in military employment..

Farmers are spending more than ever before; self-sufficiency has further declined in that many articles formerly made at home are now purchased. [511] The standard of living, especially diet, is said to have improved considerably. [592] Formerly all income and resources were controlled by the household head for the entire family; today individual purses are said to be increasingly common.

*621 178 Community Organization and Social Structure The solidarity and integration of the village was severely diminished by the war and its aftermath. The prewar village was quite homogeneous; most of its families had resided there for many generations, village marriage practices tended to be endogamous, and nearly all were engaged in farming as their major occupation. Today in most villages there are a number of families new to the village since the war, and there are an increasing number of individuals who are employed outside the village in non-agricultural pursuits. Both groups tend to play a lesser role in community affairs than the old residents who continue to farm.

476 178 There has been a considerable decline in reciprocal labor exchanges. The man who is daily employed outside the village is automatically prevented from participating in such ventures. The widow who heads a household without any adult male members is often unable to participate or must limit her participation since a day's work by a man must be matched by two by a woman. Likewise the man who hires a bulldozer to clear some land or build a rice field instead of engaging his relatives and neighbors in a cooperative exchange is also contributing to the decline of the practice.

369 178 621 Formerly those who left the village usually emigrated to other parts of the Japanese Empire, but today they usually obtain employment in the cities or military camps. Consequently, they continue to exert some influence in their place of origin, since interaction is more likely.

621 178 In a community like Kitazato which has suffered poverty, hunger, land loss, and exodus of members to other communities, there seems to be a re-intensification of community spirit stressing cooperation and unity. This is in marked contrast to Kanegusuku and elsewhere, suggesting that when a major value---communal unity---is directly threatened, there is a reaction and re-intensification of this value. Elsewhere where the process of change has been more subtle, no reaction has occurred.

565 177 Okinawan class divisions were officially abolished early in the period of Japanese administration; yet they continued to be of some importance with regard to status and marriage for some time. Today people say that they are no longer of any importance except to a few of the very old. Distinctions on [559] the basis of wealth were largely erased by the war. It is frequently said, "After the war everyone was equal."

Within the village there are no class differences. Considerable 621
prestige continues to be accorded certain occupations---teacher, doctor, 554
government official. Land ownership does not appear to be an important
status factor, and there is no landlord class.

Family The Okinawan family system has been in a process of change 593
for over fifty years. Abolition of the system of communal land tenure and 178
the introduction of private property and Japanese laws of inheritance provided [423]
the first shock. The bulk of the estate was hereafter conferred upon the [428]
first son while younger sons were frequently landless; consequently, many left
the village in search of livelihood elsewhere. Where formerly the kin group 61
was concentrated in a given locality, now its members are often scattered 178
about, making interaction infrequent. A gradual decline in the practice of kin group endogamy also has contributed to weakening the solidarity of the kin group. There seems to be an increasing trend for large kin groups to fragment into smaller segments. According to young people who were consulted on the subject, their generation has little interest in kin group affairs; this may be misleading, as it is chiefly a matter which occupies the attention of older people. Perhaps one young man stated the situation accurately when he said, "I have no interest in such matters now, but I suppose I will when I am past forty."

Many families were shattered by the war, and in the postwar period 593
there has been a weakening of the family due to a variety of factors which 178
might best be described as growing individualism. One factor, noted previously, was an increasing tendency for members of the household to maintain separate purses where formerly all earnings were turned over to the head of the house. There is some sentiment among the more educated for changing existing inheritance laws in favor of equal shares for all heirs regardless of sex or birth order. The author also heard complaints that young people often run off to seek lucrative jobs elsewhere unmindful of their family obligations.

Marriage In contrast to the prewar period when most marriages were 584
arranged, the young people today claim that they will marry someone of their 178
own choice. This seems to be generally true, but often the parents will go
through the process of arranging after the young people have decided. Young [585]
people also will vehemently deny that they will make use of a fortune teller to determine the most propitious day, but their mothers most likely will do this and then will exert their influence for the proper day. In all likelihood the young people will accept in order not to displease the parents.

If a person, particularly a young woman, delays too long in becoming married, the family will arrange a match. In one such case known to the author a well-educated woman of twenty-five who had financial independence as a school teacher was urged into a match much against her own feelings. She explained her compliance as obligation to her family for having provided her with an excellent education.

Pitts' population studies indicate that the average age of marriage 582
has dropped slightly in the postwar period due to the fact that Okinawan men 178
are no longer delayed by military service. Despite this slight drop in the

582 average age at the time of marriage, investigation into the registries re-
178 veals that the range has narrowed somewhat. Formerly some girls married at
thirteen and fourteen; today this would be considered rather unusual.

[177] The Japanese administration attempted to discourage endogamous marriage practices, particularly kin-group endogamy. All agreed that the practice has declined; yet in Kanegusuku nearly 50% of all marriages were within the kin group and 66% of all marriages were within the village. An analysis of these figures on an age basis indicates the practice is declining there.

833 Sex It is said that sexual standards have changed in that there is
178 less sexual license among the young people and that they tend to have their
833 first relations at a later age than formerly. This is attributed in part to
the moral training of the schools. Another factor seems to be the general
decline of several informal village institutions which permitted young people
considerable sexual freedom. One informant stated that those who continue on
to high school and university generally have their first experience at a
later age than those who attend only junior high school.

642 Government The Japanese introduced a modern system of government,
177 abolished the Okinawan aristocracy, and granted suffrage to all males of
641 twenty-five or more years. The American Civil Administration has attempted
to liberalize laws and to make possible a greater degree of self-government.
[625] Police powers have been limited, universal suffrage has been introduced, and
[666] the number of elected officials has been increased.

621 To date there has been little change within the village, where
178 suffrage and office-holding remain limited to household heads. Villagers
acknowledge that there is greater freedom for action at the local level today;
yet they are not desirous of obtaining greater self-government. They feel
that it would require too much of their time and that there is too little
money available to finance its operation. Village leadership is virtually
unchanged. Change where it has occurred has been initiated at a higher level.

632 At the township level the electorate has been broadened to include
178 all persons, male and female, over twenty years of age. The mayor who was
formerly appointed is now elected to office.

771 Religion There has been a general decline in the indigenous Okinawan
177 religion, effected by Japanese policy, wartime attrition, and the spread of
178 education. Formerly a hierarchy of priestesses extended from the kin group
793 through the community and region to the person of the king's sister, the chief
priestess. The Japanese removed the top echelons of this hierarchy, but the
kin group and community priestesses continued to function. World War II
resulted in the death of many religious functionaries, and as the office is
usually hereditary within a specific family and often limited to a particular
member of that family, there has often been no replacement for the office.
Lastly there is an increasing tendency among the young people, due to the influence of the school, to regard religion as superstition.

796 Many villages, especially those without religious functionaries, have
178 discontinued all village ceremonies, and in those few remarkable exceptions

where they are observed there are generally few participants. Also many 796
ceremonies have lost all meaning save that of custom, which is considered 178
sufficient reason for their observance.

The authors heard dissatisfaction expressed with regard to current 764
funeral practices. At one bone-washing ceremony witnessed by the author, 765
several of the men stated that the practice was pointless and should there- 829
fore cease. Statements favorable to the Japanese practice of cremation were
frequently heard.

Urbanization Prior to Japanese annexation there existed a sharp 369
urban-rural dichotomy in Okinawan culture. This might best be characterized 177
as a rural peasantry and an urban gentry-nobility. The latter group was in [565]
contact with Japan and China and was literate, while the former was divided
into many small, isolated villages, lived in a state of serfdom, and was
largely uneducated. The urban culture was strongly influenced by its foreign
contacts, but in the rural areas an indigenous culture was preserved virtually
untouched by outside influences.

The Japanese impact was first felt in the urban areas, and the city of Naha gradually assumed the characteristics of a Japanese city. It became the center for the diffusion of things Japanese into the countryside. Despite a number of important changes---abolition of communal land tenure, introduction of private property, gradual penetration of a money economy, introduction of schools and national organizations---rural-urban differences remained strong. The character of the village tended to remain homogeneous and conservative, and contacts with the city were infrequent. When one emigrated from the village, the move usually was to a point outside the country rather than to another part of the island.

World War II shattered the isolation and homogeneity of the village. 369
The American occupation coupled with the cumulative effect of the change 177
initiated by the Japanese has served to bring the village into a closer re- 178
lationship with the urban areas. The result has been the urbanization of the 621
rural areas. By means of newspapers, motion pictures, and radio the villager
has come to share the cultural life of the city. Rural-urban differences in
diet, dress, education, entertainment, mobility, and values are tending to
disappear. Marked improvements in transportation have given the villager a
new mobility, enabling him to participate in the labor market of the city and
giving new outlets for his products. The nature of the village is increasingly
more heterogeneous due to the presence of newcomers, increased occupational
specialization, and greater interaction with the outside world. There is a
greater reliance on goods produced by industrial society, and a number of
villagers commute daily to a place of employment in the city or in nearby
military installations. The trend is toward an ultimate disappearance of
rural-urban differences; the process is one that is well advanced in the
United States, but in Okinawa it is in an early stage.

Conclusion Okinawa has been in a process of change for over fifty years. 177
World War II and the American military occupation have served to 178
accelerate greatly the forces for change. Despite this, Okinawan culture has
not been overwhelmed and has managed to preserve its identity. A number of

CHAPTER XII: OKINAWAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS

[Yamada]

121 In this chapter we shall describe the effects of the occupation and types of relationships that have developed between Americans and Okinawans in a rural setting. We shall discuss the problems of Okinawan military employment. And we shall discuss the nature of Okinawan attitudes toward the United States, toward Japan, and toward themselves as a separate ethnic unit.

1. The Rural Setting: Yamada

W. P. Suttles

621 [361] Changes in Structure and Orientation The village of Yamada lies in southern Onna-son on the China Sea shore of Okinawa just south of the Ishikawa isthmus. The village is actually composed of several settlements that form a single 'ku' (the administrative unit) in a single 'aza' (the land unit). The topography of the 'aza' is rather uneven. [241] The great majority of the people are farmers. They raise a little tea on one of the higher hills, sweet potatoes and other root crops and a little wheat on their upland fields, and a considerable amount of rice in paddies at the bottoms of their narrow valleys.

Before the war Aza Yamada consisted of seven settlements. Two were the old villages of Yamada and Kuraha. Four were yaarui (J. 'yadori'), smaller, separate settlements established by settlers (chijuunin, J. 'kiryūmin') who had left the urban areas of the south in the latter part of the last century. Of these four, three, the mee ("front") and kushi ("rear") yaarui of Tirabaru and the yaarui of Uema were settled by commoners (hyakusoo, J. 'heimin'); the fourth and most isolated, Tirabaru, was settled by gentry (yukatchu, J. 'shizoku'). The seventh settlement, Ajimaa, was a recent clustering of houses and shops around the crossroads and school.

For purposes of administration the aza was divided into 'han'. Since administration meant mainly the communication of instructions from above, number of houses and distance were probably the principal factors in determining the size of the 'han'. Thus the three larger settlements, Yamada, Kuraha, and Ajimaa, were each a 'han'; two of the yaarui that were close together, the mee and kushi yaarui of Tirabaru, formed a single 'han'; but the remaining two yaarui, Uema and Tarigaa, were separate 'han', probably because they were too far apart for one 'hanchō' to transmit information to both.

But for purposes of cooperation in certain economic and social activities, a unit larger than the single yaarui was evidently needed. This unit was the chinju (J. 'kinjo', meaning "neighborhood"). The three larger settlements were each a chinju, besides being each a 'han'. The two yaarui that formed a single 'han' also formed a single chinju. But the two yaarui that formed separate 'han' also formed a single chinju, their distance apart apparently being of less importance than the need for a larger cooperative unit.

[Yamada]

Thus Aza Yamada consisted of seven settlements grouped into six 'han' 621
and into five chinju. The chinju was probably the older, "natural" unit, [177]
while the 'han' was a unit introduced by the Japanese administration.

During the last few months before the battle for Okinawa, the area 175
south of Yamada was used as an ammunition dump by the Japanese navy, one 621
small unit was stationed in Tarigaa, and a number of Okinawan civilians 726
drafted for labor were quartered there with the local people. These out- 727
siders dispersed as the raiding by American planes increased and by the time the landing took place, on 1 April 1945, the people of Yamada had for the most part gone into caves and prepared underground shelters. Two or three days after the landing the 6th MarDiv passed through Yamada, discovering some of the people and sending them behind the lines, but missing many. Some of those taken were almost immediately allowed to return to their homes. Then, after about a week, all were rounded up, taken to the school, and there loaded onto trucks and taken to Ishikawa. During the following weeks all the buildings in Yamada that had survived the softening-up process that preceded the landing were burned "as a sanitary measure" with the exception of one house and one school building. A part of the Yamada people were moved again to a village north of Kin while the rest stayed in Ishikawa, which was becoming the largest concentration of civilians on the island. Aza Yamada, empty of Okinawans, was occupied by several American units; concrete foundations for quonset huts were laid on the level fields of Tirabaru; the walls and floor of the remaining school building were removed so as to make a garage for a motor pool.

The people of Yamada were permitted to move back to their village 175
during the summer of 1946. Some stayed in Ishikawa, however, and some 621
returned to Yamada only to go back to Ishikawa later. (One woman said they 727
were told at the time that if they did not return to Yamada then they could never return later.) The houses at Yamada had to be rebuilt and fields reclaimed; American aid in materials was given but the job was not an easy one. For some of those who had employment with American units or whose families were too broken by the war to provide the basis for a farming household, the new city of Ishikawa, crowded and unsanitary as it was (and still is), was more attractive than the ruins of the country village. But in addition to those from Ishikawa, former Yamada people were being shipped home from Japan, the South Seas, and Manchuria, and although some of these too drifted to the city, the population of Yamada is now somewhat larger than it was before the war.

The postwar village of Yamada looks considerably different from the 621
prewar one. While the old village consisted of several widely separated 178
settlements, the new one is fairly compact. The center is Ajimaa at the old [361]
cross-roads below the school. Yamada 'mura-uchi' is empty but for three families. The yaarui of Uema and Tarigaa were never reoccupied and Tirabaru exists only as a sort of pseudopodium of Ajimaa stretching toward but not reaching its former location. The greater part of the 'mura-uchi' and yaarui people are in Ajimaa and the present Tirabaru. Kuraha, formerly down on the beach, has been rebuilt above the water, just below Ajimaa, at a new and potentially more important crossroads.

[Yamada]

621 361 178 177 One reason for this greater concentration may have been the greater need for cooperation during the period of rebuilding; another may have been the greater dependence since the war on the outside and the resulting greater dependence on the new highways and busses; but a third reason for the present concentration seems to have been a feeling of uneasiness in the presence of American units. There are still units on three sides of Yamada, two in the hills behind and one towards the sea between the settlement and the next village of Maeda. A Tarigaa woman gave the presence of American soldiers in the hills as a definite reason for not returning to her isolated home. A part of the rebuilt Ajimaa extended for a time in the direction of the nearest unit but in the last two or three years these houses have one by one been removed toward the center of the settlement.

621 178 The present aza is divided into five 'han', which are said also to function as chinju. However, the division seems to have been made along 'koaza' boundaries and this has resulted in a very uneven distribution of households per 'han'. Since the settlement pattern is still changing it seems likely that units of a more equal size will develop.

621 178 484 The orientation of Yamada, as well as its settlement pattern, has changed. Before the war contacts were nearly all to the north and south along the west shore of the island; people went south to Kadena on their rare shopping trips. Now, good highways and an excellent bus system not only run north and south but also link the west shore with the east shore via Nakadomari and Ishikawa. Since the war and the internment of many of the Yamada people at Ishikawa, going to town had meant going to Ishikawa, and people who once went twice a year to Kadena may now go to Ishikawa twice a week. People still go south to Kadena, but now more often as employees of the Americans commuting to work.

621 177 727 [648] Formal Relations At the time that the Yamada people returned to their village in 1946 they received material aid from the American Military Government, with which to rebuild. For a time after, they continued to receive a food ration ('haikyū') that was distributed from the 'haikyūjo', which later became the cooperative store. However, for several years now they seem to have had very little direct contact with the Military Government or its successor USCAR. On the other hand they have had considerable contact, both formal and informal, with the 'butai', the "unit", that is stationed just a few hundred yards from the settlement of Kuraha. This relationship was evidently in a process of change while I worked in Yamada early in 1954.

All of the villagers with whom I discussed the matter seemed agreed that for a period in the recent past the relationship had been very good. During the previous year the CO of the unit had held monthly meetings with the 'kuchō' of Yamada and three neighboring villages and with the teachers of the Yamada school, which serves all four villages. The purpose of these meetings was said to be the discussion of mutual problems, and in this they had a fair degree of success. For example the local people asked the unit to decrease the speed of trucks coming through the village, and this was done. The unit in turn asked the villagers to try to stop women from sneaking into

its area at night (an informant hastened to add that these were not Yamada 621
women). The unit and the village cooperated in repairing roads, the unit 177
supplying equipment and the village labor. The unit also lent equipment for 727
levelling the school grounds and for the 'undōkai' (sports event) lent the school a public address system. At Christmas of 1952 and again in 1953 the unit gave a Christmas party for the school children. The first year only 40 went but the second year nearly 200 went and all received presents. Two that were shown me later were a plastic car and a plastic fire truck; one was marked 65 cents. They were displayed with obvious pride. The school children in turn had sent a bundle of art work to the unit for the Perry Festival.

According to the villagers, late in 1953 the CO of the unit was transferred and the unit was placed under the command of the CO of another unit some miles away. This, they said, had meant the end of the monthly meetings and a decline in the good relations that had existed. The villagers' worries may have been without foundation. The last Christmas party was given after the alleged shift in command. However, some changes were occurring; for example, prostitution had reentered the village.

Informal Relations In addition to the help given to the school by the unit, certain individuals from the unit had also contributed something to it. One man is said to have taught English classes twice a week for about six months. Many of the men of the unit habitually come to the school grounds to play ball. Several are said to come two and three times a week, others come less frequently. Negro soldiers as well as whites come. They play baseball and volleyball with the men teachers and have also taught them basketball.

A few of the villagers have gained financially from the presence of 621
the unit. In Ajimaa where the school is located there are four shops and at 177
Kuraha there is one shop and another establishment that was formerly a cafe. 727
The Ajimaa shops probably rarely sell anything to the soldiers, but the Kuraha 444
shop has several steady customers for "Okinawa Gin", a rather strong variety [273]
of 'awamori'. The cafe formerly sold drinks to a regular clientele from the unit, but recently the owner invested in a taxi, has not made as much on it as he had expected and so has not had the capital for stock. There is also a laundry in Kuraha operated by a couple from Amami which does washing for men in the unit.

Several men in the unit are renting houses for their "honeys". (The 621
term "honey" is widely used by both Americans and Okinawans for an American's 177
Okinawan mistress.) At the time I worked in Yamada there were five "honeys", 727
all in Kuraha, three renting one house and two another. All five were from 836
outside the village; one was from Amami, a relative of the laundry people. According to one informant, the relationships between the soldiers and these women had been established at Senaha, Yomitan-son, a small cafe and brothel area to which some of the men of the unit go; after establishing the relationships there the men had brought the women to this village next to their unit. It was my impression that there was not much contact between these outsiders and the villagers.

However, there are several Yamada women who have been the mistresses 621
of American soldiers in the past and there are several half-white children in 144
563

621 the village. The oldest of the children is in school; she is the product of
144 a brief affair during the early days of the occupation. While some informants
563 showed some reluctance to discuss the half-white children, by forgetting that
they existed until reminded of them, I saw no evidence that the children suffered
any discrimination. There are also several Yamada women living outside
Yamada, particularly in Ishikawa, with Americans and Filipinos; several of
621 these have mixed-blood children. Some of the Yamada women who are "married"
582 to Americans have attempted to maintain their relationship with their own
177 families and establish some kind of relationship between their families and
their "husbands". On New Year's, when family calls are in order, two sisters
who were both living with Americans at another village brought their "husbands"
to pay their respects to their grandfather. I was in the old man's house when
one of the girls appeared with her American. The American behaved quite
properly, taking off his shoes and sitting cross-legged on the mat opposite
the grandfather. The grandfather greeted him with dignity and reserve. The
girl, who had acquired a fair command of English, translated a few sentences
and looked very pleased with herself. Drinks were exchanged and the visit
was over. Further contact was hardly possible, but this sort of gesture was
probably sufficient to demonstrate to the family and to others that the
relationship was a serious one. Most relationships are less serious.

621 The former cafe in Kuraha was said to have had women available for
727 prostitution several years ago, but the CO of the local unit who held the
177 meetings with the villagers is said to have disapproved of prostitution in
the village and therefore the women left. In the spring of 1954, however,
548 another prostitute was at the cafe, even though it was not operating as such,
and a new brothel was established at Ajimaa. There a 'Mama-san' ("madame" in
GI Japanese) rented a house for herself and her three girls. The house is
one of the newer tile-roofed buildings; it is just below the school grounds
and across the highway; it is the property of the brother-in-law of one of
the school teachers. Since the shortest way to the place from the unit is
directly across the school ground, this was the route taken one afternoon by
the three gaudily painted girls as they led a soldier home. I did not have
much opportunity to discuss the matter with many people but got the following
reaction from one informant: "On the one hand the brothel is good because
people are making money; on the other hand it is bad because it makes a bad
environment. If anyone complained about it, probably the owners of the house
would say that the person complaining is just envious because of the money
they are making in rent. Probably even the school teachers could not complain.
One cannot interfere with a person's way of making money. The only way it
could be stopped would be for the whole village to stop it." This was a clear
[181] expression of two of the basic themes of Okinawan culture, themes that have
been mentioned before in connection with other problems; first, one must not
interfere in another's livelihood, and second, one must not stand alone;
action must be group action. This informant was not overly concerned about
the possible bad effects of the presence of the brothel below the school on
the school children. Some of the school teachers may have been, yet they too
were probably as unwilling to take action individually.

621 While some Yamada people have profited by the presence of the unit,
others have suffered some loss. Considerable land is still not available to
727 its owners and while they have received rental from it the amount is not

regarded as adequate. Also, some of the land that was returned some time 621
ago still has construction materials on it that must be removed. I also 727
heard the complaint that it was not possible to gather fuel in certain areas in the mountains behind the village. One of the units there is said to fire upon Okinawans who approach the fence around it. So far as I know, no one has been hurt. The fact that Okinawans have been known to appropriate fence wire as scrap metal may be the cause of the apparent hostility of this unit. The villagers have no other contact with it.

Attitudes In 1945 when the American forces were landing on Okinawa the people of Yamada were trembling in their caves and dugouts expecting that if they survived the bombing of the planes they would probably be shot by the troops. One way or another a few people did lose their lives. One man was shot by an American soldier while trying to run away after coming out of his cave. Another Yamada man, who was teaching school in Kunigami at the time, is said to have been found by an American soldier while travelling with his family through the hills; the soldier made him put down the child he was carrying and then shot him where he stood, before the eyes of his wife and children. Two Yamada girls are said to have been raped. Whether these stories are true or not they are factors in the formation of attitudes toward Americans. Yet stories of such incidents are few and amount to little compared to the treatment that most Okinawans expected to receive at the hands of the Americans. Stories of unexpected kindness shown by the Americans in 1945 are numerous and are not forgotten. Nor are the few atrocity stories, though the balance is undoubtedly well on the credit side.

The variety of the experiences that the people of Yamada have had with 621
Americans tends to make them see, I believe, more clearly than many Americans 727
see, the necessity for avoiding generalizations and judging the individual on 829
the basis of his own merits. One can find individuals who have had a wide range of experience even in a remote Okinawan village. One evening in Yamada I sat listening to the war stories of two brothers. Both had spent some time in Japan. One had lived in Manchuria as a settler, had seen the Kuomintang chase the 8th Route Army and vice versa, had finally been captured himself by the Russians and had managed, according to his account, to escape by making off with a Russian truck. The other brother matched this story by telling how he had been captured by the Americans and taken as a prisoner to Hawaii, where he had spent a year working at a laundry. He delighted us with his stories about the good food, the lazy guards, and how he had made off with large quantities of GI clothing by going back to the compound each night wearing several shirts and two and three pairs of pants. Despite their belief in ghosts and spirits, in matters of human relations these are mature and sophisticated men. They know that not all Americans are good, not all are bad, some are industrious, some are lazy, most are honest, but some are dishonest. On several occasions, while somewhat in his cups, the older of the two assured me that "the words are different but the heart is the same". This perhaps summarizes the faith of a good many Okinawans.

To summarize Okinawan-American relations in Yamada: There have been 621
both formal relations between the neighboring unit and the village and school 727
and informal relations between some of the men of the unit and some of the 177

[Yamada]

621 villagers. The formal relations, because of the policy of the CO of the
727 unit, have in the past been good (at any rate this is the interpretation of
177 the villagers). Except in rare instances such as that of the man who taught
English, the informal relations have been mainly in the fields of sports and
sex. In these matters too the role of the unit's CO has been important.

2. Military Employment

W. P. Lebra

464 An important factor in contemporary Okinawan life is the large number
of people engaged in military employment or in subsidiary occupations. Over
[177] twenty-five percent of the total Okinawan labor force is so employed, and
their day-to-day contact with Americans has far-reaching implications for
Okinawan-American relations. It is also a factor of prime importance to the
Okinawan economy.

In studying and visiting a number of Okinawan communities the authors noted a considerable variation in the importance of military employment to the community, the role of those so employed in village life, and the attitude of the villagers toward these people.

621
727 Kanegusuku The farming village of Kanegusuku was less affected than most communities by the war and subsequent occupation, little land was ruined, no military installations are in the area, and the majority of villagers are attempting to carry on as before the war.

621 Out of a total population of 507 persons, constituting 103 houses,
464 there are but twenty men employed outside the village. Of these twenty men, seven are directly engaged in military employment and eight more are employed by civilian construction companies engaged in military construction. These individuals commute from the village each day to the greater Naha area. In most cases these men come from houses which have insufficient land for mere subsistence, or they are younger sons who are without land and/or who have not married and set up households of their own. Several are newcomers to the village since the war.

621 In the past a few who have secured jobs in military establishments
464 or in subsidiary employment have left the village and established temporary
166 residence in the city or near the camp. One of the motivating factors for
making the move is a monthly saving of ¥600 ($5.00) in bus fares, but cer-
tainly another and perhaps stronger motivation has been the desire to escape
the dreary life of the farm village. These people say that they do not wish
to return to the village; yet, they have retained their land as an insurance
621 against job loss. Most do not seem to regard military employment as a perma-
464 nent career. They hope to save enough money to establish a small business
829 or at the last resort to return to the village and buy more land.

Villagers regard those who have been able to secure military employ-
ment as rather fortunate individuals. In most families the additional income
[511] is most welcome as it provides a standard of living considerably above sub-
sistence farming. In the case of those families where the husband or house-
[462] hold head is employed outside the village the wife usually farms the family
vegetable plots.

621 In most cases those who are engaged in military employment, or in any
464 employment outside the village, do not play an active role in village affairs.

621 464 Only five of these are household heads entitled to vote in village elections or assume village office, but because their jobs keep them out of the community much of the time, they are not given village offices. There is some feeling on the part of the villagers that they are out of touch with the affairs of a farming village; consequently, their influence in the village thus far has not been too great.

621 727 464 Jagaru and Tobaru The villages of Jagaru and Tobaru in Chatan-son offer a marked contrast to Kanegusuku in terms of the importance of military employment to the community. These two contiguous communities are hemmed in on all sides by military installations. They constitute little more than housing areas within a township that has lost, according to its officials, approximately 91% of its land to military installations.

[241] [178] Formerly nearly all of the families were engaged in farming as a full-time occupation; today less than one-sixth are farming and not all of these are able to depend on it for their sole support. Military employment has replaced farming as the chief occupation of these villages. In October of 1953 there were 2,352 persons out of a total population of 10,411 who were employed in military jobs. In addition there were a number of business establishments which were dependent on the trade of military personnel.

621 464 The welfare of Jagaru and Tobaru is wholly dependent on military employment. In the fall of 1953 there were rumors of an anticipated cut of 10% in the over-all Okinawan labor force employed by the military. This would [434] have made over two hundred individuals and their families without any source of income or means of livelihood. The people were much upset by this prospect as every family had at least one member employed in military jobs and were wholly or in part dependent on their income.

In contrast to Kanegusuku those who were engaged in military employment in these villages played an active role in community affairs. A great many of them are household heads, and they are not regarded as being out of touch with village affairs since the chief occupation of the villagers is 621 464 829 military employment. While the Kanegusuku people regard securing a military job as good fortune, the people here regard it as a necessity. According to township officials most of this year's graduating class will look for jobs in the nearby installations.

The villagers are bitter because they feel that the military has not paid them adequate rentals for the use of their land. There is also some resentment over the conduct of troops in these communities during their off-duty hours. In short, though the villages are completely dependent on the military for their livelihood, they are bitter and resentful in their attitude toward it. The possibility of job losses seems likely to heighten this feeling.

621 727 464 Henza Shima The island of Henza off the east central coast of Okinawa differs from the above communities in that a large segment of its population is engaged in military employment and yet the village itself is far removed from any military installation. This village suffered but slight damage and no loss of life during the war. After the war over four hundred repatriates returned to the village, bringing its population up to approximately 4,900.

This island has long faced a serious problem of over-population and 621
food shortage; it is not self-supporting in foodstuffs and mainly derives its 464
livelihood from fishing, shipping and ferrying. It has long had a symbiotic 505
relationship with the neighboring island of Takabanare, supplying fish and 433
shipping-ferrying service in return for food, but this has not been rewarding [438]
enough in recent years to offset its rapid population increase. A general postwar decline in coastal shipping largely due to the marked improvement of land transportation in highways and vehicles has sharply reduced the number of jobs in this enterprise, and the return of the repatriates has [illegible] added to the number seeking jobs. Military employment, however, has filled this gap and staved off mass unemployment.

At the present time nearly one quarter of the village labor force is 621
engaged in military employment. Nearly all of the repatriates and a large 464
number of old residents have entered military employ. Some of these have established temporary residence on the mainland nearer the military installations. A large number, however, commute by ferry boat and bus each day to [484]
their place of employment, and at low tide it is possible to walk the mile across the tidal flats to the mainland.

There has long been a tradition for the men of Henza to be away from the village much of time, engaged in activities on the sea. Thus, those who are away much of the time in military employment are merely following a long-established pattern. Unlike the absent workers of Kanegusuku, these people
are not considered to be cut off from village affairs. All farming activities, [562]
much of the family's economic affairs, and some of the functions of government are carried on by women, contrary to usual Okinawan practice.

The villagers regard military employment as a blessing and feel that [829]
it has contributed significantly to maintaining village prosperity. Aside 621
from military employment they have little contact with Americans, although a 177
few boat-owners have rented their crafts to American fishing parties. The 829
villagers and their officials recall with considerable fondness their military government officer in the early days of the occupation. To date Henza relations with Americans have been not only good but also profitable; in short, American stock is high on this island.

Summary On Henza and to a far smaller degree in Kanegusuku military employ- 464
ment has largely drawn off the surplus and largely landless population that formerly would have emigrated to other parts of the overseas Japanese empire. In Jagaru and Tobaru military employment has replaced farming as the chief occupation of the villagers. The contribution of military employment to the economy of Kanegusuku is negligible, although it should be noted that the number so engaged increased during the period of the author's study. In Jagaru, Tobaru, and Henza military employment is of vital importance to the village economy, and any sharp decrease will have severe repercussions.

Okinawan Attitudes Toward Those Engaged in Military Employment Okinawans make 464
a sharp dis- 562
tinction in their attitudes toward men employed in military jobs and their 829
attitudes toward women similarly employed. There seems to be no stigma of any sort attached to the male who has a job working for the Americans; in fact,